







**TWENTY-FIVE YEARS  
IN EAST AFRICA**



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DAUDI CHWA, KABAKA (KING) OF UGANDA WITH  
HIS MOTOR CAR

# TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN EAST AFRICA

BY

✓  
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TO  
MY WIFE

WHO SHARED WITH ME THE EARLY TRIALS AND  
DANGERS OF LIFE IN EAST AFRICA AND WHO  
LATER UNDERTOOK ALL THE DUTIES AND RE-  
SPONSIBILITIES OF OUR HOME AND FAMILY,  
LEAVING ME FREE TO CARRY ON THIS WORK.



## PREFACE

THIS little work was prepared with several ~~objects~~ in view. In the first place, I have endeavoured to bring together and set down in a popular form some facts of anthropological and social interest relating to Central Africa, which otherwise, owing to the rapid spread of civilization, might soon be lost for ever. At the same time it occurred to me that, in view of the great changes which have taken place since the British Government took over the Uganda Protectorate, some account of life in Africa in the early days of European settlement might be welcome both to my own friends and to others interested in that Continent. As a rule, companions and colleagues who might not perhaps care to be referred to by name have not been so mentioned; but there are some whose activities are so inseparably woven into the life and history of the time that it has been impossible to follow such a rule in all cases. The reader must not, however, forget that the writer was only one of a band, and that all that he experienced and endured was shared by others, every one of whom went out prepared to face discomfort and danger, and even to lay down his life in a far country. Another object has been to give to those who may possibly settle in our East African Protectorate a timely word of guidance and even, perhaps, of warning.

Again, readers will find a certain amount of criticism of Government action and also of missionary methods. This is intended in no unfriendly spirit; my aim has been to point out how absolutely essential it is that those who desire to govern or assist primitive peoples should be sufficiently versed in the science of anthropology to be able to regard them, their customs, and their religion with intelligent sympathy. With the vastly increased facilities for studying the subject there is now no reason why any one should undertake work in such a country without some previous study of anthropology.

The anthropologist will probably find this work unsatisfactory and scrappy, as many details have already been published



in my other books, *The Baganda* (Macmillan and Company) and *The Northern Bantu* (Cambridge University Press). Here, however, certain theories and suggestions which may be of interest are put forward, and I have recorded various incidents worthy of attention which befell me in the early days before I seriously took up the study of anthropology, and which were simply jotted down in my ordinary diaries of passing events. These incidents are mostly connected with the country through which I passed from the coast to Lake Victoria, and may be of interest and value to others following this route under present conditions.

There is, however, an extensive field of enquiry which is not touched upon in this book. I have lately been enabled to enquire far more fully into various matters of the utmost anthropological importance through the generosity of Sir Peter Mackie seconded by the interest and assistance of the Royal Society. The information here given in the shape of a popular account of travel and enquiry forms, therefore, the prelude to the fuller and more scientific work which I have thus been enabled to do.

It is now a good many years since I collected the material which this book contains, and I had just made up my mind to put it into shape and enlarge it, when I was asked to revisit Africa as leader of the Mackie Ethnological Expedition. On my departure I sent the manuscript to a friend for safe keeping and for publication in the event of my not returning. There was, however, some misunderstanding, and on my arrival in England I found the book already in the printer's hands. I must, therefore, ask my readers to look upon the book as a rough draft of what I intended it to be. There is plenty of material in it of both scientific and human interest, but style and arrangement could have been greatly improved had there been a possibility of revising the manuscript before it went into print.

As the material which I left behind me was in a very rough state, the revision of the proofs has been a task of considerable magnitude, and I am very deeply indebted to the Rev. G. A.

Schneider, Librarian of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, who has given much of his valuable time and unsparing energy and care to this difficult work, and to the Rev. W. A. Cox, Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, who has been always ready to give advice and help. The photographs used in the volume have to a large extent been supplied to me by friends, and I must here express my grateful thanks to these donors, and especially to the late Rev. E. Millar, the Rev. R. H. Leakay, and Mr C. V. Hattersley.

J. R.

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## CHAPTER I

EXPERIENCES IN TRAVELLING—NATIVE PORTERS—

•AMUSING INCIDENTS AND MISTAKES—LIFE ON A  
LONELY HILL MISSION STATION—SLAVE TRADE

TO understand the subject of this chapter aright the reader must go back in thought some thirty years to what was a much more primitive condition in East Africa than that of the present time. Now, even though the man accustomed to modern English life may state the contrary, or the "globe trotter" make unfriendly remarks about the uncivilised native and call him a "dirty nigger," the East African on the coast is comparatively civilised and has shrewd ideas as to what he may or may not do in the presence of a white man. This part of the story has to do with the state of affairs as they were in the year 1884, when Sayid Bargash still lived and ruled in Zanzibar, and Sir John Kirk, H.B.M.'s Consul, was judiciously gaining an influence over the Arab and African mind, which was to have such far reaching effects. It was probably due to Livingstone that the Consul went to Zanzibar, and also that other Europeans began to travel into the interior of Africa and open up the country, and that slavery was rigorously attacked; yet England none the less owes a debt of gratitude to Sir John Kirk for the noble work which he did in Zanzibar. By his wise régime he laid the foundations for British rule, and by his gentle, attractive manner he won the Arabs so that they believed in him, relied upon the word of an Englishman, and trusted the British nation.

The first journey by ship which a man takes is always full of interest, and as it was deemed advisable in our case that we young missionaries should sail to Zanzibar round the Cape, because of the heat in the Red Sea at this season, the lengthened journey added considerably to our interest and our geographical knowledge, affording splendid opportunities

for visiting many ports along the east coast of Africa. On a first voyage there are many things on board ship to be investigated, from the captain's bridge to the stoke-hole, and new experiences have to be gained, even to a distant bowing acquaintance with sea-sickness. I say a bowing acquaintance, because in my own case the acquaintance was broken off through the timely though unintentional intervention of a fellow passenger. It happened thus: we had proceeded very comfortably from London Docks down the Channel in the R.M.S. *Drummond Castle* and had entered the Bay of Biscay which, though said to be calm, was rough enough to give the ship an uneasy motion, at least for a "landsman." When dinner was announced, we bravely took our seats and began well, but one or two of us found it necessary to leave the table hurriedly as though something had been forgotten, and the writer was one of those who made a rapid exit from the saloon to his cabin with most uncomfortable feelings, though fortunately they were not too strong to make him forget his desire to hide the cause of his speedy flight. Such indisposition is so often considered a weakness, and is so often a theme for amusement, that most men strive to keep their fellow passengers ignorant of their condition. To conceal any sign of sickness when in his cabin, the poor sufferer popped his head out of the open port hole, when to his surprise he saw his neighbour pursuing the same course with great success; whereupon the ludicrous side of the picture presented itself to him so forcibly, that he laughed outright, regained his equilibrium, and returned to dinner quite cured from sea-sickness.

In due time we sighted Table Mountain and entered Cape Town, which was to end the first stage of the journey. We had on that pleasant voyage the games, concerts, and amusements common to sea voyages and very little serious reading. From Cape Town to Zanzibar there was the experience of a small coasting vessel with frequent calls at the ports along the coast, and change of ship took place at Mozambique to a third vessel, *The Bhagdad* of the B.I.S.N. Co., a comfortable boat with a genial officer in command,

Captain Frohawk. My next experience in the same ship with the same captain some years later travelling from Aden to Zanzibar, was not favoured with the same placid sea, but was in the teeth of the monsoon; fortunately on this occasion there were only three passengers on board, two of whom kept their beds for several days, deeming bed safer and more comfortable than to be thrown about on deck or in the saloon. The experience gained was useful; it gave us an idea of some of the difficulties which seamen meet with in rough weather. For a few days shoes and socks were abandoned, because water was to be found everywhere; even in the saloon, which wore the appearance of a house undergoing spring cleaning, there was, in addition to the general discomfort of disordered furniture, a plentiful supply of water which was being churned to froth by the pitching and rolling of the boat. To take a seat in another part of the saloon, or to walk about, it was necessary to hold on to some object that was a fixture, until the ship assumed a fairly level position, and then to dart forward to another fixed object, and so on until the destination was reached. How the cook managed to cook, and how stewards managed to carry food to the saloon, still remains a mystery. During those days the captain and the chief officer were the only persons beside the writer who came to table, and we three had our food served in basins, which we held, because nothing could remain on the table owing to the rolling of the ship and the list which she frequently had. The captain was most kind and had a chair lashed for me under the lee of the deck-house, where only an occasional wave broke over it, and where it was possible to get fresh air and also to gaze on the wonderful seas and read a little.

But I must return from this digression to Zanzibar and give an account of my arrival there. It has been said of that Island that there is only one good view to be had of it, which is obtained when you are finally leaving it. Zanzibar, however, has its good points, and for me it has pleasant memories, though there is much to be said against the trying heat, which is as great by night as by day, and which prevents

#### 4 AT ZANZIBAR PREPARING FOR THE JOURNEY [CH.

most people from obtaining good refreshing sleep. Beside the discomfort of the great heat, there are the mosquitoes which hum round your bed during the night, seeking a place of entrance through the mosquito net and making you pay heavily, should they discover any hole or inlet, or should you throw out a hand or a foot against the net, where they can settle and gorge themselves. To compensate for the evils of the place, there was in my own case a warm welcome and kindness shown by all the resident English, and especially by the members of the Universities' Mission, who seemed to consider nothing too great a trouble, if only they might add to the comfort and enjoyment of the visitor, and make his visit pleasant and happy.

In those early days, when the success and comfort of a traveller going into the interior of Africa depended largely upon the health, strength, and uprightness of the porter, much time had to be devoted to securing the necessary human burden bearer, who was the sole means of transport; further time had to be spent in looking over the goods from England, and arranging them, so that the cases or packages did not exceed sixty-five pounds weight apiece. The presence of kind friends in Zanzibar was indeed a boon, and from them I obtained much valuable advice concerning the treatment of natives and many hints as to travel. Furthermore barter goods such as unbleached calico, prints, brass-, copper-, and iron-wire, beads of various kinds, with other articles for currency to be used to obtain food on the journey instead of money, had to be purchased in Zanzibar. When the tedious process of selecting and engaging porters was completed, they had to undergo a medical examination, which often reduced their number considerably, because many of them were unfit for the hardships of a journey; and then fresh men had to be sought to fill the gaps of those rejected, which again caused delay. When the men were finally engaged and their agreement had been signed, there came the trying task of satisfying them in regard to advance pay, because, though their wages were fixed at a given rate per month, yet each man tried to

secure as much as possible before he commenced his work, and would not consent to move without at least one month's pay in advance. Crowds of people usually awaited these men when they were being paid and made great demands upon the wages they received and, if left to carry out their avaricious schemes, they would leave the porters with only a few coppers. The latter had therefore to be guarded and kept in a locked yard after they were paid, until they could be marched to the beach and shipped to the mainland, the point from which the journey was to begin. If these precautions were neglected, the unfortunate men were left without money to purchase the numerous small comforts which they wished to take with them on the journey.

Another reason we had for guarding and quickly shipping the porters off to the mainland was to ensure their fulfilling their contract; because if allowed their freedom in Zanzibar, some of them would abscond with a month's pay, or stay so long with their friends that they would be left behind, and thus both men and money were lost. The only means of crossing to the mainland was by dhow, the small smelly craft of the Arabs, which was always ready to be hired to ply between the Island of Zanzibar and the mainland. Under favourable circumstances these vessels would run over in four hours, but if the wind fell or was contrary, two or three days might elapse; a traveller related that he once took a week to cross and suffered considerable discomfort from want of provisions. We were favoured by fortune, and reached Sadaani on the mainland before it was dark, though we did not start until noon. We were then able to pitch the tents and settle down outside the Arab town, which, like most Arab towns in Africa, was very dirty and an undesirable place for health or comfort. This was my first night with Africans, severed from all English friends, alone on the shore of the "Dark Continent." There were all kinds of new sounds from insects, birds and animals, which called for some explanation before one could go calmly to sleep. It took time to accustom the mind to them, and then it was

not easy to settle down to sleep in the tent, especially as the porters were close at hand sitting round their fires and talking. After a time the hum of the porters' voices died down as one by one they fell asleep, and later sleep came to the relief of the inexperienced traveller, and the camp was wrapped in the calm of slumber. To a man newly arrived from England it is a strange sight to see men lie down on the hard ground with no covering beyond their scanty loin-cloth of three or four yards of unbleached calico, with no roof over them but the sky, and no other protection from wild animals save the embers of a smouldering fire occasionally drawn together as one or other of the sleepers pushed the logs of wood into the fire and caused it to burst into flame. Yet these men sleep soundly and rise as fresh as though they had passed the night on the most comfortable bed. Experience of African life teaches the traveller that there is no real hardship in spending the night in such a manner, his sympathy is uncalled for and wasted. The Swahili porter is as a rule too idle to build any hut or covering for himself, such as is built by men of inland tribes when travelling, and should a shower of rain catch him by night, he will sit and shiver over his fire unless he can crawl into the hut of some more energetic fellow porter.

The first morning of a journey is inevitably, for an African traveller, the most tiresome of all the days of his journey; giving out loads to the porters is trying to temper and strength, especially because each man wants to take the lightest and most convenient package; and unless some care and thought is exercised, the weakest men will be pushed aside to the last and left with the heaviest and most tiresome loads to carry, while the strong men will make off with the lightest and nicest burdens. This task of apportioning loads requires both care and tact in order to assign the right loads to the right men; another cause of trouble is the headman who is not to be relied upon, because he usually has favourites among the porters whom he will seek to benefit. There is often another great trial awaiting the traveller when doling out loads, for he will find that several of his men have

decamped during the night, and that he is left with a scarcity of porters<sup>1</sup>. Local men have to be employed, and high prices paid to them, in order to have the loads carried on for the next few days, until some of the loads of calico goods have been distributed for the purchase of food, and thus some of the porters have been set free to carry the loads of the deserters. In most cases a few extra men are engaged before leaving Zanzibar to meet this difficulty, and also to be ready in case of sickness or any other emergency, and these may possibly suffice to carry on any excess loads. By the time these trials are ended and everything smoothed out for travelling, the sun is high and the heat has become excessive for a march of twelve miles to the next camp, but since a start must be made, if only of a few miles, in order to accustom the men to their loads and to get them away from the baneful influences of the coast, a short march is undertaken.

The first two or three marches test the physical strength and powers of endurance of the new and inexperienced traveller; he does not know how to keep his men together in single file, nor how much control the headman ought to take; again the narrow uneven path with its concave surface is trying to walk along, it is in some respects worse than walking in a furrow of a ploughed field. The hot sun tries him, and he does not realise how beneficial it would be for him to rest by the way and have some refreshment, he is anxious to reach his camping ground and will try to go the whole way with the slowly moving porters without food until noon, forgetful that his breakfast was hastily swallowed at an early hour and is insufficient for a long morning's march in tropical heat. As a rule he soon falls in with the regular routine of life, and begins on the second or third day to enjoy the marches and finds amusement as he goes along. There are many new interests in scenery, birds, and flowers, as well as new animal

<sup>1</sup> To hunt for the missing men in the nearest village is to waste precious time, and it seldom happens that the injured traveller obtains redress, though he notifies his agent of the desertions; the men are experts in decamping and evade capture.



life, with here and there glimpses of village life, methods of cultivation, and a thousand and one things to keep him from being dull or lonely, even though he has no companion beyond the natives who travel with him and carry his goods, whose language he does not know. His boys who walk with his water bottle and light refreshment will entertain him, and, if he is a sportsman, they are ready with his gun when game appears.

The average Swahili porter will travel from twelve to fifteen miles each day so that, by starting at daybreak and marching in the cool morning, camp is reached soon after ten o'clock, and the day can be given to any pastime which takes the fancy of the traveller. Some men like to give the rest of their day to hunting, and if one is a good marksman, he will be able to appeal to the tenderest part of the Swahili porter by the good bag he brings into camp. Other men may prefer botany or the collecting of butterflies or new insects and what not. Rivers, if they are in flood, afford amusement and also scope for ingenuity in crossing them; some rivers which during the dry season are either dry sandy beds, or at most small streams of one or two inches deep, rise rapidly during the rains and assume gigantic proportions being some twenty or more yards wide, with a deep surging current far too strong for the strongest expert swimmer to negotiate. Such streams have either to be crossed, or the men have to sit on the bank and wait until the waters subside. Such waiting never causes the porter any anxiety if he has food, on the contrary, he will patiently sit for a week or longer and exhibit no sign of weariness. Possibly a temporary bridge can be thrown over the river by felling a tall tree on the bank so that it falls with its branches resting on the opposite bank; the upper branches can then be lopped, and a passage made for the porters to walk over; sometimes a rope bridge has to be made from a tree on one bank to another tree on the opposite bank of the river<sup>1</sup>. As a rule the Zanzibar

<sup>1</sup> Creepers suitable for ropes are well known to the natives and are invariably to be found in the vicinity of rivers.

porter is competent to deal with such difficulties and soon extemporises means for crossing a river if he wishes to move on; the chief difficulty is to create the desire to proceed. A creeper or rope bridge is a favourite method for spanning large rivers and when once made it is kept in repair by the people living in the district, who find it useful for crossing near their homes instead of making a round of some miles by a ford. Such a bridge consists of three or four strong creepers upon which to walk; these are securely fastened to stout trees on each bank, and then side ropes to form hand rails on either side are secured to the main creepers and so are kept in position.

The Zanzibar porter or, as he is commonly called, the "Swahili porter," is of mixed nationality; the race of the so-called Swahili is most cosmopolitan; the men belong to all tribes and nations to which the Arab slave-trader has in time past had access. Where the Arab could with safety penetrate, he raided towns and villages, the results of his raids being the carrying off of the inhabitants as slaves, male and female. The porter is often a son of such slaves or he may be the original slave; he is usually versed in all the vices and cunning of his master, and shows all his obsequiousness when he thinks this characteristic to be profitable. The Arab slave-trader has been on the coast of Africa for many years; it is indeed probable that he arrived before the Portuguese, though the latter has left traces of very early residence, such as may be seen in the old fort of Mombasa, with its stone ruins and carefully carved staircase in the rocky cliff affording a covered passage down to a boat on the beach below, or the Mozambique forts and other ruins on the east coast. Before these early European navigators found their way along the east coast, the rude Arab dhows are said to have been plying to and fro, carrying their human freights of slaves to various Arabian market places. Slaves were taken from the mainland to Zanzibar, where a slave market was established at an early date; from that market they were carried by dhow to different ports of Arabia, often undergoing

terrible experiences on the voyage. In later days when the British appeared in East Africa, the Arab had established himself firmly in Zanzibar as his headquarters, while at the most favourable points along the east coast important Arab chiefs were settled, who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Arab sultan in Zanzibar. Slave markets were common in most of these Arab towns, where men, women, and children, were exposed for sale, as each expedition returned from the interior.

Judged from our Western standard, the mode of treating these unfortunate slaves was revolting, diabolical, and inhuman. The Arab who engaged in such traffic soon lost the small amount of feeling or pity which he ever possessed, and regarded his human prey as personal chattels; hence his only object in showing mercy was in order to carry his victims alive and in as good a condition as possible to market, in order to secure better prices for them. These slaves when sold at the coast were destined to become household slaves, or to be sent to the clove plantations on Pemba Island, or to be shipped off to ports of Arabia, where they were chiefly required for household purposes or as agricultural labourers. When they became domestic slaves in Zanzibar, they were not treated badly; women often became concubines of their masters and were kindly treated, while men became trusted slaves and lived in comparative comfort; the latter frequently had slaves of their own, and sometimes they lived like free men, though they were always liable to be sold again at any moment if their masters became tired of them, or there were other reasons for parting with them<sup>1</sup>.

Boys and girls were eagerly sought and purchased, to do work on the clove plantations on Pemba Island, where the dust from the cloves with the insanitary conditions of their homes soon brought on lung diseases, and carried off numbers of them annually, so that fresh supplies were constantly

<sup>1</sup> The Zanzibar Cathedral, the headquarters of the Universities' Mission, stands on the original slave market. This site was procured by Bishop Steere, and the beautiful Cathedral was built on it as a witness to Christian liberty and freedom.

needed. Owing to the influence of early travellers, who made known to the British Government the horrors of slavery, British men-of-war were sent into this part and were actively engaged in suppressing this slave traffic. This was at an early date in our knowledge of East Africa. The trade was cruel in the extreme, the sea voyages adding new kinds of torture; men and women, boys and girls, regardless of age or sex, were packed into dirty dhows with no room to lie down or even to sit in comfort, in fact some were so closely packed that they had to stand until they disembarked. The food on such voyages was boiled rice handed round in pots, and a scanty supply of fresh water was allowed them daily. My personal experience of this side of slavery has fortunately been limited, though I have seen large numbers of people when rescued from dhows by men-of-war, and I have taken charge of a few of those rescued captives and trained them as servants.

The majority of Zanzibar porters, as already stated, are men who were slaves of Arabs, but were allowed to become porters and take service, even for two or three years' duration, under travellers going into the interior of Africa. For such men the worst part of the thralldom of slavery was at an end, their training had in most cases reduced them to a low state intellectually and morally. It is largely due to the Arab influence that comparatively little success has been obtained by those who have tried to educate, Christianise, and raise the Zanzibar slaves from their degraded condition. Some of the worst cruelties ever perpetrated in slave-raiding have been carried out by slave-raiders who were drawn from this class. The raiders were either slaves, or sons of women who had been slaves and had been taken to wife by their masters; their sons had then been placed in positions of trust such as the leading of slave expeditions. The past experience of these men, who had been through the mill of slavery, instead of softening them and making them tender and sympathetic towards sufferers, had made them harder and more cruel than their masters; and their own sufferings seemed to have given them new ideas for torturing their fellow men in

a more diabolical manner even than that practised by their masters. When possible these men would raid a district by night and capture the inhabitants, shooting down those who resisted or made a stand for life and freedom. When such raids were impossible owing to the tribes being too powerful, the traders would purchase slaves, giving in exchange barter goods such as calico, prints, iron wire, brass wire or copper wire, guns, gun-powder and percussion caps<sup>1</sup>.

As slaves became scarce nearer the coast, the traders had to go further afield to obtain them, and then began those trying journeys for slaves through waterless tracts of country with fearful loss of life, journeys which have marked slave-raiding as the most cruel and debasing occupation on earth. It was to the advantage of the trader to carry as many as possible of his victims to the coast in a saleable condition, but, as he wanted to make as much profit as possible out of them on the way, they were laden with ivory, horns, food for his caravan, and any other goods which he might have. The captives were chained together in gangs of ten or twelve; each slave had an iron collar on his neck with an eye through which the chain ran; one end of the chain was secured to an iron collar, and a lock at the other end of the chain prevented it from being withdrawn from the collar, and made it impossible for any slave to escape without the whole gang being loosed. The journeys to the coast were in many cases too terrible for description; when a mother, carrying her infant in addition to some load for her master, staggered under her burden, she would be lashed on with a rhinoceros whip which cut through her flesh at each stroke, or perhaps her child would be torn away from her, dashed against a tree to kill it, and the body flung by the roadside and left for the wild beasts. Sometimes a weary captive fell sick and was unable to keep pace with others, but there was no mercy shown, the whip was the medicine administered to

<sup>1</sup> For years the discarded service rifles from European armies have been bought up by merchants who shipped them to Africa and sold them at great profit to Arab and other traders, to be used as barter goods in the interior.

help the patient into camp; should this fail, the trader would strike off the head with his sword rather than release the poor wretch from his chains and give him a chance of recovery; the gang was then ordered to pass on and catch up the other captives. Such cruelty was said to inspire the others with dread of a like fate, should they fail to keep the necessary pace.

It sometimes happened that some captive who was healthy and strong resented the treatment he received at the hands of his captors and refused to carry an allotted load; possibly he had been a chief or a man of position in his village community and accustomed to marks of respect; the slave driver under such circumstances said he must "tame" the man and break his spirit. To effect this, the man's neck was secured in the fork of a long heavy tree branch, so that he could not withdraw it, and during a march some person appointed carried the other end of the branch to enable the man to walk and carry his load in addition to the weight of his tree. At night his hands and feet were bound to the tree branch, named "the taming stick," thus causing cramp and pain; often the thongs cut into the flesh, causing blood to flow. I once came upon a slave in camp thus bound; he must have been lying there for some hours, before his groans reached me and guided me to the hut in which he lay or rather squatted. He was lashed with leather thongs so tightly to the tree that the flesh had swelled over them and they had cut through the flesh, and blood was dripping from his wrists and upper arms and also from his legs. It was difficult to cut the thongs without hurting the poor fellow; his gratitude was great when he was enabled to stretch himself and to rest his weary limbs. The slave-trader protested when I went to release the poor man, and said he would escape, but he was silenced on my threatening to hand him over to the British authorities at the coast.

England did a noble thing for Africa when she set her face against slavery, and worked so indefatigably to suppress the abominable traffic. Livingstone did an excellent work

in exposing this trade and stirring up a greater spirit of enquiry into the atrocities. Now England in conjunction with other European powers has made the slave traffic impossible on the East Coast, and only the milder form of household slavery is possible. The Uganda railway has done away with the long trying marches for porters and abolished the last excuse for using slaves as beasts of burden. Christian missions did great things for the amelioration of slaves; but the work of suppressing slavery was beyond the powers of individuals, it needed the aid of the Government to deal with Arab traders, and this has been freely given.

In closing this chapter it may be permissible to give one or two hints in regard to marching and camping, which experience has taught me, since they may be of value to some future traveller. Zanzibar porters always strive to camp on old sites, chiefly because there are old huts there into which they can enter and where they can obtain shelter from the heat by day or the cold by night; but such old camps should be avoided, because they are insanitary. Further, should previous inhabitants have been suffering from the common complaint of smallpox, some porter almost invariably catches the disease and spreads it to his companions, thus doing untold harm to the party. Even apart from the horrible disease of smallpox, there are other reasons for avoiding old camps, such as dysentery and tick-fever, both serious dangers to the European, beside filth and stench. The choice of a new and clean camping ground will always pay, though it may give a little more trouble to find a new site suitable for pitching the tent and building huts for the porters. I have known of two or three deaths of Englishmen which were traced to the effects of disease taken from old camping grounds. When the ground has been chosen, the tent should be pitched on the smoothest and most level part. The tent should have its openings north and south, to prevent the sun from streaming into it. Most travellers like to have a waterproof ground sheet for a carpet, but if that cannot be obtained, newly cut grass should be laid down, the

straws being arranged straight as in thatching, not thrown in anyhow.

A most important point in camp life is to see that all boxes and wooden articles are raised from the ground and laid on stones or on branches, to save them from the ravages of the white ants, which will eat through wooden boxes and destroy goods in a single night if they are left undisturbed. The general goods should be stacked in front of the tent, raised up as described, and the porters should encircle them with their huts or places of rest for the night. This precaution will lessen the chances of thieves coming during the night, and lighten the duties of the guard, which should be stationed as soon as the goods are stacked. It is always advisable to appoint men to guard the goods, and each porter will take two hours of this work during the day or the night without grumbling. Possibly no attempt will be made to steal, but on the other hand something may be stolen, and then there is not only the annoyance of loss, but also serious inconvenience and even disastrous consequences may arise to the traveller. I have only once been robbed during the night, and that was near the end of my long years of experience, at a place where I thought it would be safe to relax my usual custom. I was assured that no one would steal, but I lost everything in the way of personal outfit except one suit of clothes; money, medicines and clothing, all disappeared, owing to my neglect to place a guard.

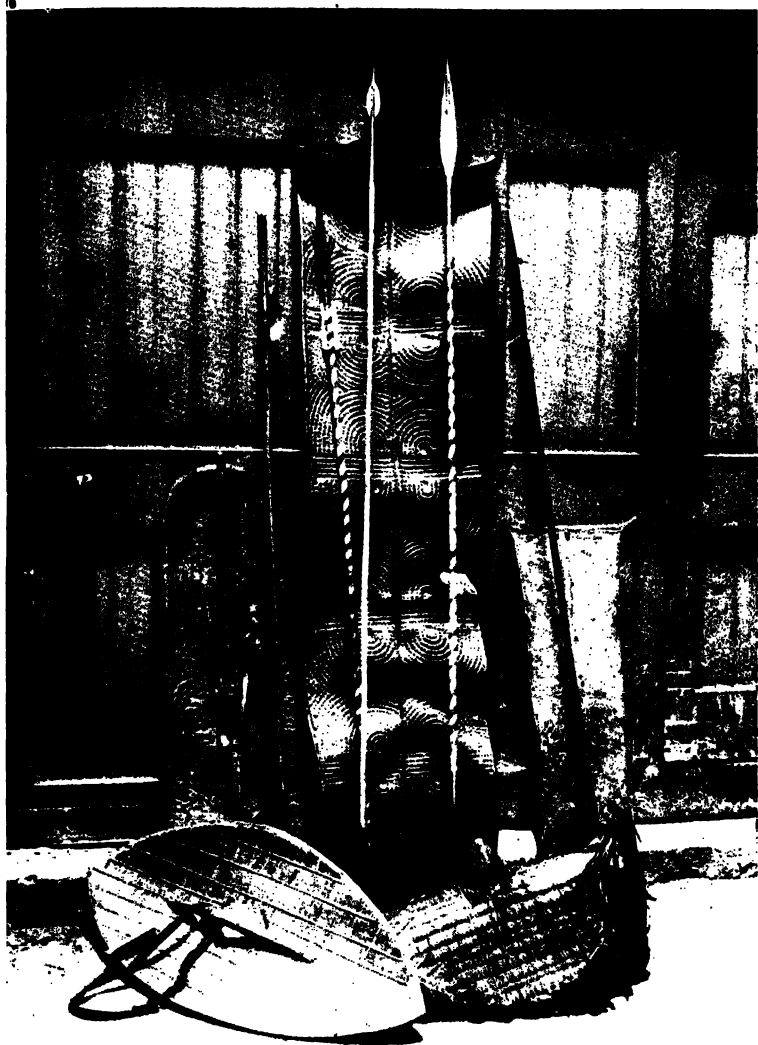


## CHAPTER II

TRIBES MET WITH IN USAGARA—TRIBAL WARS—THE  
DREADED MASAI—STRICT MORALITY AMONG THE  
WAMEGI—BURIAL AND OTHER CUSTOMS AMONG  
THE WAMEGI—DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

FROM the coast<sup>1</sup>, where the natives had for years been under Arab rule and where that rule was acknowledged until the German occupation in 1887, there was little more than a nominal suzerainty, for there was no ruler nor any administrative body. When Unyamwezi was reached, there was tribal authority. Many small tribes are found there, almost all of them belonging to the Bantu stock and each speaking a dialect of the Bantu language in the coast belt. The people live in communities, which consist of clusters of huts, varying in number from four to one hundred, enclosed in a stockade seven to eight feet high made of rough stakes planted side by side and tied together with strong creepers; round the outside of these stockades thorny shrubs are encouraged to grow, to make them more formidable to the approach of any foe. There is one entrance with a gate consisting of four or five roughly cut planks; through each plank a hole is bored at one end, and a strong wooden bar is passed to form a hinge on the upper end; these planks are then raised during the day to allow people to pass in and out at will, but at sunset they are lowered and secured on the inside. The sanitary conditions of the approaches to these villages are dreadful; for three or four hundred yards on either side of the entrances the grass and shrubs are allowed to grow, and the place is used by the inhabitants for the relief of nature, and human excretions lie about in all directions, making a foul smell; no steps are taken to cleanse the place,

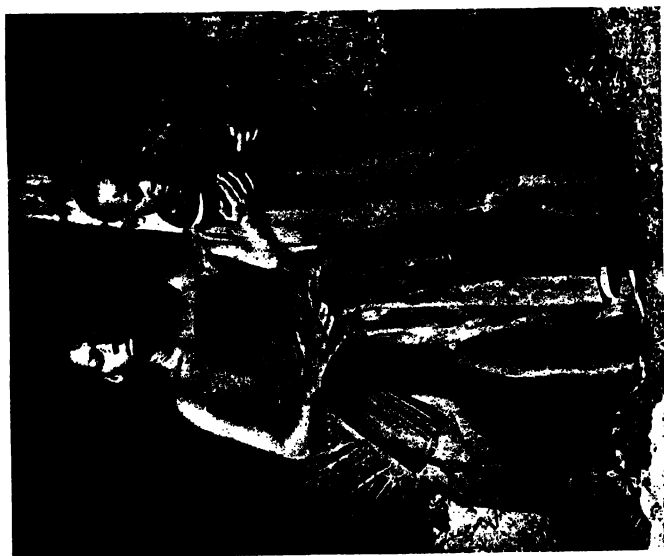
<sup>1</sup> Until Unyamwezi was reached, a distance of four hundred miles, there was not any chief commanding the respect of an entire tribe. Arabs claimed to rule one hundred and fifty miles inland.



SHIELDS AND SPEARS FROM BUGANDA, BUSOGA, BUKEDI,  
SEMLIKI VALLEY AND KAVIRONDO



BABY WITH LONG HAIR BEFORE HAVING BEEN  
ADMITTED INTO THE CLAN



WOMAN OF UGANDA IN BARK-CLOTH DRESS  
WITH HER CHILD

it is left until the tropical rains come to wash the ground and cleanse it. If it were not for the heat of the sun and the rarity of the atmosphere, there can be little doubt that typhoid or enteric fever would carry off hundreds of victims each year<sup>1</sup>.

When Usagara is reached a new phase of life and of language meets the eye and ear of the traveller; the physical features also differ, for the country is hilly to mountainous, whereas he has been travelling through comparatively smooth country. Again, the round huts with conical roofs built on stakes four or five feet long, driven a few inches into the ground and lashed together with creeper cords or strips of bark, and the interstices filled with clay thrown with force from the inside, and the wall smoothed with the palm of the hand, are left behind; and a new kind of architecture meets the gaze. The huts of Usagara are built in squares with flat roofs, the walls are stakes driven into the earth as mentioned above, but they are six or seven feet long and bound together. The rooms inside measure from eight to nine feet wide. From the top of one wall to the top of the opposite wall stout timbers are laid to form rafters, then smaller timbers are laid crosswise to these and covered with grass with a thick layer of clay on the grass and beaten hard. These houses may be of any length, according to the number of families about to live in them. They are built to form a square, leaving a courtyard in the middle for the cattle. Each family has two rooms, a common room and an inner sleeping room; a door leads from the common room into the courtyard. There is one gateway only leading into the courtyard, it passes under the roof between two of the houses, and is guarded by the chief of the community, who is also the guardian of the peace; all other doors open into the courtyard. Should there be an increase in

<sup>1</sup> Though the people may belong to the same tribe, it is seldom that more than one village acknowledges the authority of the same chief. Each village has its own ruler and lives independently of the next village; it is only when threatened by war that they combine to meet a common foe. In one or two of these villages I found women the acknowledged rulers; these were the only cases met with in Africa where the men of a tribe allowed a woman to rule them.

this community and some other person wishes to come to live with them, a conical hut will be built near the flat-roofed houses; and in time, when several such huts have been built, the chief may decide with the community to add a new court to the old one and form another square with the flat roofs, abolishing the round huts. Such huts with flat roofs of earth betoken an unsettled country, they are intended to protect against the weapons of the adversaries, or from incendiaries and night attacks. They were proof against the weapons which the people then possessed, such as spears, bows and arrows.

These flat-roofed houses are built either on the tops of hills, or on some level place high up the sides of the hills, for safety, with the object of being out of reach of the Masai whom the people fear because of the raids frequently made for cattle, and for avoiding raids made to obtain slaves. The people in Usagara who live in these flat-roofed houses call themselves Wamegi; the Wagogo, whose country is further inland, adopt the same plan of building their houses, but they live on the plains. The Wamegi combine agriculture with cattle rearing; they appear to have been a pastoral people who have settled down to an agricultural life, but who dearly love to possess a few cows. The cows are a small breed with humps; they are mountain cattle, and, like most African cows, give very little milk. A calf is never taken from its dam, and should it die, the cow soon ceases to give milk, until she has another calf. Milk is preserved in long gourds and is drunk after it has turned sour; it is put into the gourd vessels when obtained. The vessels are seldom washed, and the dregs from the previous milk soon cause new milk to turn sour; in this condition it is partaken of if not too thick. A bowl of clotted milk is given to any honoured guest as a mark of esteem. An Englishman finds a bowl a large amount to drink, even though he may be thirsty. A common sized bowl contains two pints. I have often been presented with a bowl, and have been compelled to make excuse for favouring a child of the family with the

unfinished luxury. Goats and sheep are reared in large numbers; they are, as a rule, lacking in the chief respect we consider to be a mark of good feeding, namely fat. They are wonderfully active and agile in climbing the hills.

Goats and sheep sleep in the houses by night, tethered to pegs in the floor near the walls, in the inner circle of the round hut, or against the walls of the square hut. In the morning they are turned out when the dew and mist have evaporated from the grass. Experience has taught the people that the wet grass causes goats to have skin disease which makes the hair fall from the legs, leaving ugly sores. Cows sleep in the open in the courtyard within the square formed by the flat-roofed houses. Young people, boys and girls, herd the cattle; goats, sheep and cows being herded together, while the children play, from time to time giving a little attention to the animals; the pastures are usually on the hills well above the valleys. The villagers have their fields in the valleys, because the land there is more productive and better watered, and the warmth is more suited for growing crops such as maize and millet. Men and women work together in the fields, hoeing, preparing them for seed and sowing the seed. Women undertake the weeding, thus freeing the men to attend to other work such as the repair of their houses, and enabling them to visit and help their other wives, who live at a distance, with their fields<sup>1</sup>. When the corn is ripe, the men again assist the women to reap it and to gather it into the store-houses.

<sup>1</sup> During the weeks that the corn is growing some people sleep in small hastily built huts in the fields, to guard them against ravages from wild pigs and to protect the crops against incursions of wild animals in the mornings. When the corn is ripening, children are employed to frighten off birds and keep away monkeys. These young people devise various methods to save their throats and their legs. Often a tree is selected in which they build a platform where they sit and use rudely made wooden clappers. On one or two occasions I have seen long cords passing from one tree to another tree at a distance. To this cord small bells were attached, and the ingenious child sat with his clappers in the tree and jerked the cord, causing the bells to ring and frighten off the birds. The work of Christian Missions suffers during this season, schools are deserted, and the only way to carry on any missionary work is by visiting the people in the fields.

These crops of maize and millet form the staple food of the people, though sweet potatoes are grown to supplement the grain, and also a limited amount of beans, vegetable marrows and pumpkins for a change of diet. Marrows and beans are grown by a few people, but more as luxuries than necessities. In this part of Africa the rain falls at regular intervals. The small rains begin in September and continue for three to four weeks, when there is a hot season lasting from November to March. The heavy rain then falls, this rainy season lasting some six weeks. From June to September rain seldom falls. There is no attempt made at cultivation during the long period of drought, except in small gardens on the hill-sides through which a stream flows so that irrigation can easily be secured. The dry season is a time of rest from agricultural pursuits and is the more usual time for festivities and general relaxation; marriages take place, and dances are given, first in one village and then in another, which often last two days and a night, while drinking is freely indulged in, though there are few cases of drunkenness. At harvest the corn is gathered into large baskets and stowed away in the huts. The granaries, when such are used, are rudely formed upper stories in the conical roofs, or are shelves made in the flat-roofed houses over the fire.

Maize is the favourite grain for food. It is pounded in large mortars with hard wooden pestles; the corn is first soaked for several hours, which causes it to husk readily, it is then dried and ready for pounding. When pounding grain, two women stand, one opposite the other, with a large wooden mortar between them, and with their pestles, which are made some four feet long and three inches thick, they pound away until the flour is quite fine. From time to time the flour is emptied from the mortar into a shallow basket and shaken, to separate the fine flour from the coarse, the latter being returned to the mortar for further pounding. When the flour is pounded to their satisfaction, it is dried in the sun and is then ready for use. Millet is not pounded, but is ground between two stones and is, as may be expected, very gritty; it requires

a person with strong and robust digestive organs to eat it without suffering considerably from the grits. In either case, whether the flour is obtained from millet or from maize, it is made into thick porridge, by boiling a quantity of water, adding flour, and stirring it constantly as it boils, until it attains the desired thickness. The family gather round the pot and take the food from it with their hands. If the weather is fine they sit outside near the door, but inside if the weather is wet. Usually husband and wife, with their children, sit round the same pot, though in some instances young men are given their meals in a pot apart from their parents. There is, as a rule, one meal only in the day. This is eaten about sunset. During the earlier part of the day any member of the family, when pressed by hunger, may bake a sweet potato or a cob of maize in the hot embers of the fire and eat it, but there is no attempt made to provide a regular meal. Both boys and girls are fond of trapping small birds and rats, which they cook over fires in the fields, and eat as they play or herd their cattle.

Children are allowed great freedom until they are initiated into the tribe. Before they are old enough for initiation, their chief duty is that of herding the flocks, and numbers of children assemble for this task, to keep one another company and while away the hours, which would otherwise be tedious. They enliven their duties by playing and hunting small game, and with the produce of their hunting they lay up a store for the make believe housekeeping, imitating their elders in domestic life. The boys often make toy weapons for playing at soldiers and become experts at throwing clubs in their sham battles.

The Wamegi, and indeed all the coast tribes, are polygamous. When a man marries, he does not remove his wife from her old home, but builds a house for her, attached to that of her father, or a conical-roofed hut near the flat-roofed house, and resides with her; when he marries another wife, he leaves the first wife for a time and lives with the second at her village. It thus often happens, when a man



has six or seven wives living in different parts of the country, that he is absent for months from his first wife, as he makes his tour of visits to his other wives and helps them to dig their fields and to sow and reap their crops.

When children are born, they remain with the mother and look to her as their principal authority and guardian. The husband assists his wife to obtain the necessary clothing for herself and children, and any implements she requires for the garden, and cooking-pots for the house; he also gives her presents of goats and sheep, and when possible he adds a cow. As might be expected under such circumstances, the children scarcely know their father and have little affection for him, but their affection for their mother is marked. Should the father do anything which a son dislikes, *e.g.* abuse his mother, he will take her part against his father.

Marriage is seldom the outcome of love. It is considered by both men and women to be the natural procedure for a youth who has attained adolescence to marry, and the proper course for a woman to become a wife and a mother. Girls are usually betrothed in infancy, or during tender years, and are claimed by their husbands when they are old enough to marry. It often happens that a man who is many years the senior marries a young woman and she sees nothing incongruous in having for her husband a man who may be older than her father. When an engagement is made, the man gives the girl's parents two or three goats or sheep, and the girl is from that time guarded by her mother, who regards her as betrothed, until she is marriageable. As soon as a girl shows signs of womanhood, she is secluded for a period of twelve months. During this time she is never allowed to go out of the house, and no man, not even her brother, is admitted into the house, nor may any man see her. Some elderly matron guards her and instructs her in the mysteries of married life, and tells her how to treat her husband and how to manage children. Before marriage the bride elect undergoes an operation, which is analogous to the circumcision of the male. This is performed

by a few old women. After the maid has recovered from her operation, a feast is given to women only. At this feast the bride appears bedecked in all the finery of her tribe with beads, brass and copper ornaments, and a large supply of iron bangles; above all she is well oiled, so that she is dripping with fat, usually with vegetable oil extracted from the castor-oil plant seeds. After this feast the husband may come and claim his wife and, if he is an industrious man, he will build her a house at once; or he may leave her with her parents or in the house of a friend in her village. If the husband is already a married man, he will see his new wife settled in a house, before he leaves her to visit another wife. He will also assist her to dig a new field.

The principal chief of a district is usually a man who has shown special ability in warfare, and is on this account acknowledged to be the leader, when there is combined rising to meet a common enemy. Such an office places a man at the head of the local headmen, makes him a superior judge with the right to hear cases of appeal and to reverse a judgment of the local courts, and above all it makes him the representative of his own people when there is a case to be tried in which some person from another tribe is concerned. The office carries no power or right to levy taxes or to control arable land; but the chief of each community arranges all questions as to boundaries of fields in his neighbourhood, and there are no taxes or tribute of any kind. There is no difficulty in securing a field, the only restriction in occupying land is that of previous occupation. No chief lays claim to uncultivated land in his neighbourhood, and a man may look round and select any plot that he wishes, provided it is not already claimed by some other person. Fields in the valleys are chosen near those of other people from the same village, for the sake of companionship in working hours, and also for safety from the men of other villages, who are ever watching for opportunities to seize women and carry them away to become their wives, or to hold them as hostages for the settlement of some old debt.

All boys when about twelve years old are expected to undergo the tribal ceremony of initiation. Generally boys dread the ordeal, not only because of the physical suffering which they have to endure, but also because of all the mystery and the responsibilities which the ceremony entails<sup>1</sup>. The number of boys assembled at a time for the ceremony varies from six to as many as eighteen, and the ages vary from twelve to twenty. The boys are taken away into a forest or to some isolated spot near a forest, where huts are built, and an old man, who is regarded as a wise doctor and learned in the lore of the tribe, attends the youths and gives them a course of daily instruction. It is the duty of this man to tell the boys all their tribal customs, to instruct them in the secrets of worship, to lay upon them all old outstanding feuds, and to charge them to seek satisfaction on behalf of their fathers<sup>2</sup>. Each day the mothers cook their sons' food, and carry it in the evening to some appointed place at a distance from the camp, but retire without any attempt to communicate with them. The food is carried into the camp after the women have left. At the end of about six weeks the boys are all circumcised by a skilled man, in the presence of other elderly men, who are there to assist and are also to witness the boys' promises to be faithful to their tribal customs. After the ceremony the boys remain in camp, until they are healed and strong. When they return home, they are decorated in all the finery of young warriors, with head-dresses of feathers, leg bells, red clay painted over their bodies, and a plentiful smearing of oil. They carry spears, shields, and clubs, while those who can display them, carry quivers, bows and arrows.

For several days the boys march about from village to village and receive presents; most of them plait or twist their

<sup>1</sup> The ceremony is held annually, though not always in the same district, and boys are brought from various villages, according to the power of persuasion possessed by their elders, who urge their sons to undergo the rites.

<sup>2</sup> Loyalty to their clan is enjoined, and they are taught to regard fighting as a duty which they owe their relatives, especially when there is need to avenge the murder of any relative.

long hair into small cords like string, and add fibre strings to each twist of hair to make it ten or twelve inches in length. The hair is worn hanging down to the shoulders, but some youths prefer the cords to be tied into bunches and wrapped round with ribbon like the horns of a buck, so that they taper and stand off the head in front, and form a tail at the back. The hair is well oiled and daubed with red clay. Everything that is taught the boys during their initiation is of a secret character, and women never enter into these secrets. When the youths return home again, they no longer mix with the small boys as before, nor do they play games with them. They now mingle with the men of the place, and sit in their councils, and take part in discussing the important affairs of their tribe. They are now men with the right to speak, and they are supposed to be able to give an opinion worth hearing upon any subject.

Though the heavier share of manual work falls upon the women both at home and in the fields, for they claim the fields as their own, still the men take part in the heavy digging and sowing, and again at harvest time. The women, however, are always at work, either in the fields, gathering fire-wood, carrying water and preparing flour, or engaged in cooking, though no family has more than one meal in the day. The many household duties keep a woman busy from morning until night<sup>1</sup>. When all is well, and the people are in good health, they enjoy life; and so long as nature favours them with a plentiful rainfall, and the seasons are regular, and food plentiful, they think little of any higher power; there is then, they suppose, no need to trouble any god. Old age has its trials and disadvantages, because little respect is paid to an aged person past work. He is a burden to his friends and a drudge, until death mercifully carries him off.

Sickness the people attribute to magic; and certain wise men, who profess to be able to diagnose a case of sickness and

<sup>1</sup> Men on the other hand often spend entire days sitting in counsel or idling about. They collect the materials for building or repairing houses, and help one another to build. Again, they enter readily upon any dispute which may take them to some other village to have the subject discussed. Hence they are frequently called away from work in the fields.

to prescribe remedies, are called in to give advice. These men are always paid a fee in kind, either a fowl or a goat, to discover the cause of the sickness. There is a firm belief in spirit possession, and the medicine-man is expected to exorcise a ghost, should the oracle point to possession. \*

A woman whom I knew was said to be possessed by a ghost. The medicine-man who was called to exorcise it, allowed me to be present during the ceremony, which was as follows: he had the patient laid near the door of the hut, began to sing a doleful chant and to rattle two wooden rattles over her for several hours, and at length commanded the spirit to come out. The woman certainly recovered from serious fits and became quite strong shortly afterwards. Previously she had suffered from loss of appetite and was thin and listless.

When a death occurs, the body is buried in the house, and the family continues to live in the same room and mourns daily for the dead for several months. As might be expected in an agricultural tribe, favourable conditions of the elements are highly prized, and medicine-men seek to control rain and sunshine and to procure suitable weather according to the tribe's requirements<sup>1</sup>. I remember an occasion when a human offering was made because the rains did not come to time. There had been no rain for several months, and the people began to fear famine, their food stores were low, and the young crops were dying. The rain-makers busied themselves with their magical arts in vain, and at length announced that a human sacrifice was necessary. A young girl, who for some months had been a regular attendant at the mission school, was selected as the victim. She was taken to a particular hill some miles distant from her village, where she was made to sit while her head was placed between two strong poles, two ends being tied together to form tongs, and the other ends being brought together, crushing the head flat. The body was left exposed to wild animals on the hill-top. For several months the only news which I could obtain concerning the child was that she was on a visit. At length the truth that

<sup>1</sup> Hence the "rain-maker" is an important personage.

she was dead leaked out, and later the cause of her death was told. This instance is given to show that, though the native ideas are very imperfect, and their worship is of a most primitive character, still they have the belief in a Supreme Being who needs some offering to please him, so that he will let the rain fall at the right time.

Until the introduction of cotton goods by the Arabs, the clothing of both men and women consisted of goat skins or sheep skins prepared by being dried in the sun, and afterwards worked soft by rubbing them in the hands. These were tied round the waist as loin-cloths. Women rarely had anything on the upper part of the body, though men often tied the legs of a goat or sheep skin together and slung it round their neck to act as a cape. In the hilly part of the country the mornings and the evenings are cold, heavy mists often hanging over the hills until nine o'clock in the morning. At such times the people remain near their fires, and only those leave them who, through important business, are compelled to do so. The herds are kept grazing near to a place where the boys stand by a fire kindled outside the village gate, until the sun breaks through the mist. Boys and girls until they are four or five years old run about quite nude.

Both men and women are fond of ornaments, and wear bracelets and anklets of brass, copper, and iron wire. Women often have bracelets, which are coils of brass wire, bound round the arms, extending from the wrists to the elbows, and bangles extending from the ankles to the upper part of the calf of the leg. They are also fond of brass- or copper-wire collars, which are made like huge clock-springs and are worn resting on the shoulders, projecting in front and behind. In addition to these ornaments they are fond of small beads and work patterns worn on leather aprons, and they also make bands for their necks and wrists. They pierce the lobes of the ears of both sexes at adolescence, and extend the holes by putting in discs of wood. The size of the discs is increased as the person can bear to have the holes extended, until at times they have them fully two inches in diameter. I have seen

men carrying a half-pint bottle, which was used as a snuff box, in the lobe of the ear.

These ornaments were forms of currency and they could be removed and exchanged for food or barter when desired, though in more recent times a woman did not part with any ornament given her by her husband, or which she had otherwise managed to obtain, the possession indicating wealth and prosperity, and the absence of ornaments being a sign of poverty.

The Wamegi are a quiet inoffensive people; they love peace and dread war; yet seldom did a month pass in those early days without some tribal dispute ending in a fight between two villages, and in almost every case it was due to some man having kidnapped a woman. It was the custom for one branch of the tribe to seize the women of another clan, such an action invariably causing a call to arms, and this often led to a fight, in which someone was slightly wounded, though seldom was anyone killed. The kidnapping of the women frequently proved to be due to some old debt which had not been paid within the allotted time, or to some other offence which had been given and which was thus brought to public notice. In the majority of cases of dispute, such as the capture of a woman for a debt, suitable terms were proposed for settlement and were at once accepted, and the woman was restored to her people and home. If the cause happened to be an old feud in which a man had been killed, a longer time was needed to settle the matter, because it was more complicated, and a larger sum was demanded than for smaller offences. Hence the woman might be kept fully a year till the sum was paid.

As already stated, there is no paramount chief over the whole tribe to whom cases must be referred for settlement; but each small chief governs his own village, and with the co-operation of a few elders settles any dispute. These men act as magistrates and judges in cases calling for arbitration, and fines are the only punishment which they inflict. There are no prisons nor are there any places of detention, and there is

seldom any sentence of death pronounced. Should any person become notorious in causing trouble in a village, he is warned and fined; and, should this fail to bring about the desired effect, he is expelled from the community. The more serious cases for trial<sup>1</sup> are taken to the principal chief of the district, as stated above, but his services are not often sought. Still this custom indicates that the chief is regarded as the head of the tribe.

There is a high code of morality, theft is almost unknown, and houses are never secured by day or by night except against an enemy or wild beasts. A girl's honour and her future husband's rights are everywhere respected, and adultery is almost unknown. During my residence of several years in this district, when I visited the villages regularly and stood in intimate relations with the people, I did not hear of a single illegitimate child being born. During the month following harvest there is general rejoicing, holiday-making, and dancing, when beer is brewed in large quantities and drinking takes place in first one village and then in another. Still there is little drunkenness; indeed I never saw a person the worse for drink, and certainly there are no habitual drunkards. The people, though industrious and inoffensive, are not intelligent, but are dull witted and not in the least desirous to receive either religious or secular instruction or to improve their social position. After I had for months tried to induce young people to come and learn, a few children only were brought together, who consented to learn and to attend school; but at the end of a month they asked for wages for attendance, and refused to come again unless they were paid. It took months of patient waiting and of visiting in their homes and in the fields before I could induce them to return and get them to understand that they would benefit by instruction. Their ideas of books were amusing, they regarded them as a means of magic. On one occasion when some packages were missing from a caravan at a certain village, the list of the contents was brought and was read in public. The accuracy

<sup>1</sup> Where members of different clans are concerned.



of the list of contents created such a deep impression that the people confessed who had taken the goods. They thought that the papers which could tell what was in each case, could also tell who were the thieves, and cause some calamity, should they refuse to produce them. •

Besides these harmless Wamegi who live on the hills, there are other tribes in the same district, though generally the villages of the immigrant tribes are on the plains. Each of these villages has its own chief who is independent of the Wamegi chiefs. In the north-east of the district of Usagara are the Wakamba—a tribe stretching away into what is now British East Africa. Among the Wamegi may also be found villages of the semi-pastoral people Wahumba, who are, I think, an offshoot of the Masai. The Wahumba have settled down to agriculture, though they still retain large herds, and the young men adhere strictly to pastoral customs. Instead of the poor temporary huts of nomads they have built villages, and near them they cultivate small tracts of land. Milk still forms an important part of their diet. Young men and women of the tribe live together promiscuously and lead a life free from the restraints of marriage, until they attain a greater age than is usual for marriage among men of the tribes around them, who marry at puberty. During their early years they devote themselves to a pastoral life, and are regarded as warriors, though they do little fighting. After marriage they settle down to an agricultural life, and the women become most chaste characters and fond mothers.

Further inland are the great plains stretching from the Usagara hills away to the north, where the Masai roams with his large herds of cattle. From these plains the young warriors were accustomed to make their raids, wherever they heard of any cattle to be captured. The name of the Masai acted like magic upon Swahili caravans in the past, causing the greatest consternation, and the Wamegi lived in constant fear lest their cattle should be raided and carried off by them. To escape the Masai and other warlike tribes, the Wamegi very seldom allowed their cattle to be taken into the valleys or on

to the plains to graze, but herded them on the sides of the hills, away from the main paths which crossed the country.

The Masai were ever on the watch to carry off these cows; and one morning they managed to secure a herd of some forty cows from a village near the mission station, under cover of a heavy mist. The boys in charge of the herd had lighted a fire under a projecting rock and were warming themselves, when these daring warriors came and quietly drove off the herd unseen by anyone. By the time they reached the valley, in which their path lay, the church bell began to ring for morning service. The sound was new to the Masai, who whispered to one another that it was the call of the white man's war-god. This so unnerved them that their usual courage forsook them. At the same time a young man who was crossing the valley from a village on the opposite side, utterly unconscious of what was happening, encountered the Masai, who, taking him to be the leader of an army, turned and fled in terror. The youth, who was as much startled and afraid as the invaders, raised the war-cry and prepared to defend himself, but, seeing the men turn and run, he hurled his spear and brought down one of the Masai. The party rushed away, throwing down their weapons, in order to increase their speed and to enable them to escape. The villagers ran to arms and pursued the fleeing Masai, but could not capture them; still they recovered their cattle and secured some five or six shields and a few spears. A few months later a chief from the Masai visited the Mission with the peace-offering of a fine sheep, and asked to see the war-god and to hear his call. He was sure that the god must be powerful who could strike such terror into the hearts of his men. His request was not granted, nor was his curiosity satisfied, but he was admonished never to let his men raid cattle in the neighbourhood again.

There can be no doubt that the intellectual superiority of the Masai to the tribes with whom they came in contact gave them an advantage, and that they were soon able to establish a name for bravery, and by a few daring exploits to cause all

the people for many miles around to respect and fear them. The Wamegi, as already mentioned, are a timid people with few resources, who find it difficult to learn anything beyond the elementary duties of cultivation. They have also adopted the habit of hemp-smoking, which tends to deaden their small mental faculties. At the end of seven years' work among them I left, without having made much progress with their spiritual welfare; possibly I shook some of their beliefs in their old customs, and slightly warmed their affections towards Englishmen; I also got one or two boys to take an interest in Christianity.

The art in which the people mostly excelled, was that of making small offerings of flour or of potatoes to Europeans, in the hope of getting a larger present of some kind in return. Someone would bring a small basket of flour and refuse to sell it, saying that it was a present, and after forcing it upon the Englishman would wait about, until a return present was made. The flour would be worth fourpence, and the giver would expect a return present of not less value than a shilling. The missionary, who was anxious to retain the friendship of these people, was thus placed in a difficult position, because the refusal of a proffered gift gave offence, and on the other hand he could not accept the gift without following the custom of giving a return present, and in his case it had to be of greater value. This tribe of the Wamegi is one of the poor tribes in Africa, which leads a meagre existence, without ever becoming wealthy or great. The amount of cultivation done is only sufficient to supply the needs of the family through the months of drought until the following harvest. Should any mishap befall the crops, or should there be prolonged drought and the crops fail, famine is sure to follow, and at times there is a serious difficulty in procuring a supply of seed for resowing the fields.

## CHAPTER III

### THE SWAHILI PORTERS AND THE MASAI—CRAVEN SPIRIT OF THE SWAHILI—THE ARAB RISING AGAINST THE GERMANS—EXPERIENCES AS A PRISONER—GERMAN INDIFFERENCE—GRAVE DANGER OF DEATH

**I**F we accept the common account given by pastoral tribes as to their origin and their former dwelling place, we shall agree that in early ages there was a migratory stream of pastoral people which travelled from north-east Africa in a south-westerly direction, leaving as they went portions of their tribe to settle in various places. These parties may be the ancestors of the tribes known as the Nilotic tribes, all of whom have many features in common. When a more careful study of these tribes has been made, and we are able to compare them with one another, we shall probably find that there are closer marks of affinity than appear to us now with our limited knowledge, and that there has probably been a mixture of Hamitic and Bantu blood.

The Masai, whose pastoral habits made them indifferent to any settled locality, and whose herds, since they supplied them with food and clothing, made them independent of foreign associations, had no pressing needs that could make friendship with outside tribes necessary. The introduction of iron spears and knives, with ornaments of copper, brass, and beads, was the only means which outside tribes possessed of gaining intercourse with them by bartering<sup>1</sup>. But these articles were more of the nature of luxuries and did not really affect their mode of life. The nomadic life of the Masai thus provided for his needs, separated him from the settled tribes of the land, and gave him the appearance of being a foe to the peaceful settlers. Add to these characteristics the Masai contempt for men who toiled on the land, and did things which to his mind were not only

<sup>1</sup> The Masai had no metal-workers.

derogatory and degrading, but also injurious to pastoral life, and the Masai readiness to risk life in obtaining cattle, and you have what appeared to the agricultural Bantu a formidable foe, who must be guarded against by every possible means. The language, habits, and religious life of the Masai also separated him from the tillers of land of the Bantu stock. Stories of these Masai were recounted to the Swahili porters, and soon became magnified to such an extent, that the Masai were regarded as formidable warriors, never to be encountered by agricultural people if it was possible to avoid them.

An amusing incident happened on a journey when we came into contact with a party of Masai, which illustrates the fear of the porters and their respect for the Masai. We had completed our march for the day, when travelling in Usagara, and were encamped in a belt of forest near a small stream, quite comfortably settled for the night, when towards sunset a few Masai came to the river for water and saw our encampment. They began at once to sing war-songs, which one of the porters professed to translate into Swahili as tales of their prowess, saying how successful they had been in their last expedition and how they feared no man. We also discovered that they had encamped with a large herd of cattle at a short distance from us. The porters wished to strike camp, and to move on to another spot some six miles distant, but, as it was nearly dark and we were tired, I decided to remain where we were. The porters, however, seemed far from comfortable; so I suggested going over to the Masai camp and making friends with them, and I requested the man who had been interpreting the songs to accompany me. He refused to go, pleading ignorance of the language, and, as no volunteer could be found, I was forced to abandon the idea. We therefore remained in camp, and I went to bed early, being tired. I could hear that the porters had gathered near my tent and were whispering as they watched. They had extinguished their fires to make it more difficult for the Masai to locate their whereabouts, if they made an attack, as was evidently expected.

The night was dark and still, but shortly after eight o'clock

action visited the Masai camp and killed a cow, and a battle began between the men and the beast. The lion was ultimately driven away from the animal which it had killed, and the carcase was rescued, and soon the warriors were busy cooking. This disturbance in nowise allayed the fears of the porters, who drew nearer to my tent, whispering in abject fear, and whom I had to tell to keep quiet and go to sleep. Towards midnight I was again disturbed by the cry: "We are dead, the Masai are upon us!" and before I could light a candle, there was a stampede and a loud cry, and men came falling over the ropes into the tent. Then there was silence. By this time my candle was lighted, and there lay the men before me trembling and speechless with fear. When the cause of the disturbance was investigated it was found that a rhinoceros, or perhaps two, running to the water, had tripped over the tent ropes, making a noise, and the already terrified porters mistook the animals for Masai. It was a great relief to find that no one was hurt, but it convinced me that there would be no rest in the place, so I consented to move on, at the repeated request of the porters, and I told them to make me some coffee. The alacrity with which the coffee was made, and all the loads prepared for a start, showed the anxiety of the men to move from the vicinity of the Masai. By the time the meal was ended, the moon had risen and was shining brightly, and we made our way in silent procession along the dry bed of a river, leaving the Masai with a roaring lion near them, and marched some miles from the river camp until it was broad daylight, when we rested for breakfast. After resting we went on a little further to a suitable spot, where we camped and obtained the much needed sleep. The Swahili porter of that period was convinced that one Masai was equal to six other men. There can be no doubt that, while such exaggerated ideas prevailed, ten Masai would have been equal to an entire army of such cowardly porters.

Another experience of the Swahili character which I encountered when living near the coast, should be mentioned here: it shows how he can domineer over others when he has

the upper hand and feels safe from punishment. In the year 1888, when the German Government began to occupy the coast belt, which had for many years been claimed by the Arabs as belonging to the Sultan of Zanzibar, the natives resolved to help the Arabs to resist the German invasion and to try and prevent them from landing. The Germans found that they would have to resort to arms and enforce submission from the troublesome Arabs, and accordingly they began hostilities at Bagamoyo, which was one of the chief towns occupied by the Arabs on the mainland opposite Zanzibar. We who were in the interior, and yet within reach of the coast, realised at an early date of the rising the seriousness of our position. We could obtain no supplies, and our lives were threatened by the Arabs. Accordingly we communicated with the British Consul in Zanzibar and asked for assistance. He sent a runner with a scrap of a note, which the bearer, by stitching it into the hem of his outer garment, managed to bring to us through the Arab lines. The note stated that it was impossible to send supplies, but that an escort would be sent in a few days, and that we must trust ourselves to this escort which would conduct us safely to the coast.

Before the escort arrived, a missionary named Brookes, of the London Missionary Society, reached the mission station from the interior on his way to England. We told him of the serious trouble on the coast, how the Arabs had decided to kill every European whom they could find, and we strongly advised him to await the escort and go with us to the coast. He consented to do so, but, finding that we were very short of food, and having only a limited supply himself, he decided to go to a less populous district and to shoot some game. Two days afterwards one of his boys returned to tell us that Mr Brookes was dead. His tent had been surrounded in the early morning of the previous day by Swahili under some Arab leaders. He was speared to death, and his porters were killed, except the boy and one or two men, who feigned death and crawled away afterwards, though wounded.

● In due course the party of Swahili arrived as our escort, but, as they had brought no supplies, and we had neither supplies nor any barter goods with which to buy food, we were in a miserable state to undertake the journey. To add to our trouble, the party sent to escort us to the coast refused to carry any of our belongings for us. We were thus required to start without food or clothing. After some time had been spent in reasoning with the two headmen, they agreed to allow six men to carry Mrs Roscoe, and three more to carry a small tent, her clothing, and any provisions that we could scrape together. We thus started for the coast, a distance of some two hundred miles which we were obliged to walk. A piece of a Buzzard wedding-cake, a few pounds in weight, was all the food we could secure for myself and another man, and we were without any change of clothing. A small tin of sardines and a one pound tin of finger-biscuits was the only suitable or indeed available food for my wife, who was to be carried in a hammock.

The party consisted of us three Europeans, who had to leave everything behind, and start on this journey to the coast in the rainy season, marching daily through swamps and rivers, and sleeping in wet clothes on the ground. Mr D. Hooper, our companion, shared with me a slice of wedding-cake each day, until it was finished. With economy we managed to make the cake last some ten days, and then we were without food. To our surprise and joy a native came forward and presented us with a small basin of uncooked rice, which we used sparingly, taking a small tea-cupful each night to boil for the evening meal, and leaving some for breakfast the next morning. It was a poor diet, without seasoning of any kind; still it kept us alive and enabled us to reach the coast. The porters were most insolent and treated us with scant respect, and the headmen would not restrain them or make them do their work. The men carrying the hammock often let it fall, or threw it down, saying that they had slipped, when they might really have saved Mrs Roscoe from falling. At length I was obliged to walk behind the last porter, holding on to the



hammock pole to steady him as he walked, and I often took the hammock myself when crossing swamps or slippery places and rivers, because on two occasions my wife had fainted after the fall.

The rivers were flooded, and the low-lying ground was marshy. Sometimes we walked for several miles through water a foot deep, and then through water up to our waists and at times almost to our necks when crossing the streams. It was a trying journey, without any change of clothes and with insufficient food, and that of a very inferior quality. The bad roads delayed our progress, and each night we had to lie on the wet ground without bedclothing, using our boots for our pillows, and trusting to the strength of our constitutions to carry us through safely. The porters grumbled freely at having to carry anything at all for the white men whom they said they hated. They treated the poor invalid lady with disrespect and even cruelty, jolting her and knocking her against tree-trunks, in addition to letting one end of the hammock drop on the slightest pretext. It was an aggravation of our annoyance at the behaviour of the porters to discover that some of them had returned to the mission-house after we left, and had taken much of our property, such as clothing, which they thought they could sell at the coast, and that they were carrying it with their own goods, though they had refused to carry anything for us, even with the promise of good pay.

When the party reached the Arab fort at the coast, we thought that our troubles were ended, but to our surprise we were taken into the inner stockade where escape was impossible, and were told that we must not attempt to go out, until the sum promised as ransom money had been paid. This fort, which was a hastily constructed fortification more like a town with a stockade than a fort, had been built two or three miles from Bagamoyo, to be, as was thought, out of reach of the German guns. Crowds of people lined the road and stared as we entered. They wanted to see the white men who were prisoners, and it was necessary to push

them aside, in order to secure a passage for the hammock. No food was given us on arrival, nor could we obtain any through our servants, who had accompanied us to the coast. At sunset I discovered that a house near to us belonged to the Arab chief Bushiri, and accordingly I pushed my way into it and found that worthy gentleman, who was very stout, being prepared for bed by two or three women. Bushiri was rather surprised at my intrusion, and asked what was wanted. To this question I replied that I had come to talk with him as his guest. He scorned the idea of my being his guest, and said: "You are a prisoner."

There was nothing to be done, but to make the best of the trying position and to treat his remarks as a joke and obtain what I could in some other way. I therefore began to talk about the position of the Arabs, their chances of success, about the strength of a man-of-war, the methods of European warfare, and so forth, and when Bushiri became interested, I stopped and pretended to be too hungry and faint to proceed. The plan, fortunately, succeeded. Bushiri presented me with a large tin of Huntley and Palmer biscuits, and with the promise to tell him more about European warfare on the morrow, I left, carrying the treasured biscuits, which enabled us to have a good meal. My promise to tell him more about the methods of warfare was, as it happened, an excellent idea, because it enabled me to retain a hold over the Arab chief, when the ransom money failed to arrive on the next day. Instead of the money a note came saying that our friends hoped to obtain the money on the following day, and trusted that we should be safe and comfortable for one day. This news greatly annoyed the Arabs, who held a council and suggested putting us to death. Bushiri came to inform us of the Arabs' decision. I had to treat it lightly and to assure him that the money would come, and again interest him in military tactics. Thus appeased, he returned to the Arabs and was able to quiet them, and we were left unmolested for another day, and made our meals upon the few remaining biscuits.

The third day came, and still no ransom and no message. The situation was hourly growing more difficult. I dared not tell my wife and companion how serious the situation was, and that the Arabs wanted to kill us and, as they said, let our deaths serve as a message to the Germans that they meant business. It required tact and an assumption of intimate knowledge of the methods of European warfare, to make these angry men think it worth their while to spare the lives of their victims; and at the same time I had to preserve a calm and hopeful appearance before the others. In the afternoon of the third day two men belonging to a cannibal tribe came and sat in front of the little tent, and began to talk, saying that they had been short of meat for some time and adding: "Why does not Bushiri give us one of these white people to eat? That woman would make us a good feast." My wife asked me what they were saying, and I told her that she was being admired, whereupon she began to smile and asked them a few simple questions in Swahili, much to their annoyance. So they got up and walked away. She was not told till some months afterwards how she had been the theme of a conversation about a meal, and had been admired in a different way to what she thought.

On the fourth day the Arabs decided that they would only wait until three o'clock in the afternoon for the ransom money, and if it was not paid by that time, our party should be put to death. At noon two friends from the Mission arrived and were admitted into the fort. They came to explain how it was that the money had not been paid. They said they had placed the money on board the flagship for safety, and could not get it back. The German Admiral, in reply to their request to have the money repaid, said that he meant to fight the Arabs, and why then should he pay them a sum of money? When told of our position and of the short time left us, our friends hurried back to the beach, and communicated with the German Flagship, whereupon the Admiral reluctantly forwarded the money, which was sent in haste by special runners.

Eventually it was deposited in the fort an hour before the

appointed time for killing us. When it was paid, Bushiri turned to us and said, "You are free, you can go at once, but your friend (D. Hooper) is not one of the party we consented to bring to the coast, therefore he must stay. We require a further ransom for him." It was useless to protest. We had to make the best terms we could for him, and nothing but the exchange of a political prisoner in Zanzibar would suffice. The Arab who was demanded in exchange for Hooper was a prisoner in Zanzibar for a political offence—the murder of an English officer. We had to leave our companion in this dreadful place without food, while we crossed to Zanzibar to intercede with the British Government for the exchange of prisoners. Had it not been for Hooper's boy, who as a Sudanese and a Mohammedan was allowed to eat with the better class of Arab servants, and was able to secrete a little food in his dirty loin-cloth and carry it to his master, there can be no doubt that Hooper would have died from hunger.

The French missionaries in Bagamoyo very kindly entertained us during the evening and lodged us for that night, and on the next day a British gun-boat carried us to Zanzibar, and, after we had taken our message concerning Hooper to the Consulate, took us on to Mombasa. The British officers and sailors must have thought us a strange couple. We had no clothing but the rags in which we had travelled, and were unfit to appear among civilized people. We arrived in Mombasa on a Sunday morning at six o'clock; my wife was put to bed at once, and at eight o'clock our daughter was born. Half an hour later I was found unconscious on the floor of the bedroom, having fallen down with sun-fever. For a month we lay in different rooms, both of us seriously ill. At the end of that time we were carried on board a passenger ship, in the hope that a journey to England might be the means of saving our lives. Thus ended our African troubles for a time. The voyage proved to be the best remedy for our illness. We met with the kindest treatment, and daily gained strength, until, on our arrival in England, we could pace the deck without the assistance of a friendly arm.

## CHAPTER IV

MARCHING THROUGH THE UGOGO PLAINS—CONFLICT  
WITH HIGHWAYMEN—WATERLESS TRACTS WITH TRY-  
ING EXPERIENCE—BUYING WATER—CATTLE PLAGUE—  
A PASTORAL PEOPLE—GLIMPSES OF LAKE VICTORIA

FROM the coast to the border of the Ugogo plains the worst danger which the traveller has to encounter is that of malarial fever. He passes through districts with belts of forests and with rivers, and in such low-lying moist regions there is always a testing of the physical powers of one who has newly arrived in Africa. There is little to be feared from the natives. They are on the whole timid, inoffensive, and kindly disposed. When, however, he has passed through Usagara, he enters upon new features both of country and people. In the past Ugogo was for many reasons a difficult country to pass through. Not only were there dangers from its inhabitants, which were no inconsiderable or light risks, but also it was in the rainy season swampy and unhealthy, and walking in the mud and slush was heavy; while in the dry season it became so parched and dry, that it necessitated long forced marches from one camping ground to another, in order that water might be found. These forced marches were undertaken at the risk of considerable physical suffering, and sometimes with loss of life. After the rains, indeed during the rains, these long arid plains rapidly become beautiful with flowering shrubs, ground orchids, grasses, and the most exquisite plants, where, before the rains set in, the eye met with nothing but leafless shrubs or burnt up grass roots, so dry that they broke off with a touch of the foot. Or again there met the gaze long stretches of dazzling sand, glittering in the tropical sun, extending mile upon mile, unless the heat haze raised a barrier to the vision. There was no sign of life on these plains during the drought. Even birds and insects seemed to have deserted the district, leaving it without sound, except for the rustling wind, and exposed to the fierce rays of the pitiless sun.

The dry season was always chosen as the best time for travelling, because it had been proved to be the healthiest, and also because goods, carried in packages on the heads of porters, suffered less damage from heat than from rain. On the borders of these deserts, and indeed in one or two places in the plains where water was permanently found, there were encountered a few scattered villages of Wagogo, who are of the Bantu stock, and build flat-roofed houses similar to those mentioned above, and who keep large herds of cattle in their compounds. They also grow crops of millet during the rainy season, which they grind into flour, and boil into a coarse porridge as their chief article of diet. The crops are grown in sufficient quantities to provide them with food during the months of drought until the following rainy season. These people have no form of joint government in a district. Each village or community looks to an elderly man, who is called the father of the village, to settle any disputes and difficulties which arise among its members. In most instances when difficulties arise, they are due to women being stolen, to cattle being lifted, or to the rights to portions of arable land being infringed upon by a neighbour.

The men are polygamous, and are not strict about the conduct of their wives. Jealousy is rarely shown, if it is not quite unknown. Should a woman have children by other men, her husband merely claims them as his own children, and seldom finds fault with his wife for her faithless conduct, the addition to the family being welcome and affording a compensation for the lack of morals. The homes, if they can be termed such, are scarcely more than shelters from the weather. There is little done to promote personal comfort. They consist of a square room, with a fire on the earthen floor in the middle. Round this the family sit during the day, if the weather is wet or cold, and here they lie by night. They use any scrap of clothing they may possess for a covering, or in its absence they trust to the warmth of the fire and to contact with one another, if the weather is cold. The floor consists

of the earth beaten hard, and is swept occasionally with a bundle of grass used as a broom. Any goats or sheep which the family may possess are tied to short pegs, and at times a calf or two may be added to the number of the inmates and secured to some part of the wall, in order not to trouble the family. Here the calves are safe from wild animals by night and from rain and cold, and are unable to take their mother's milk, before she has supplied the family with their portion.

There is no attempt made to ventilate or to light the dwelling, and smoke from the fire which burns continuously on the hearth, has to find its way out through any crevices between the roof and the walls, or through the doorway. This smoke hanging about soon colours the rafters a shining black, while festoons of smoke hang from rafter to rafter. The people themselves become accustomed to the smell, and suffer little inconvenience, whereas any European finds his eyes and throat smarting in a few moments. The people are satisfied with one meal a day, which is provided in the evening. It consists of millet porridge, as in Usagara, and is eaten from the pot in which it is cooked. Round this the family gather, and they take the food from it with their fingers. They are not clean in their habits and do not, as a rule, trouble to wash their hands, either before or after meals. They deem it sufficient to wipe them on their heads or to rub them on their naked stomachs after eating. The lack of cleanliness is not limited to their personal habits, but extends to their entire life. Thus the women do not wash out their cooking-pots except on rare occasions. A woman considers that she has done all that is necessary for the cleansing of her cooking vessel, when she has scraped any remains from the inside of the pot with a stick. The Wagogo are fond of clotted milk. It forms a favourite dish and is often eaten in the daytime as an addition to the solid meal of the evening. Should any member of a family feel hungry during the day, he satisfies the craving by baking a sweet potato or a cob of maize in the embers of the fire, and this he eats, often sharing it with some friend. When it is possible, the millet porridge is supplemented

by sweet potatoes and pumpkins or by a coarse kind of vegetable marrow. These vegetables, with dwarf beans and a limited amount of maize, are grown by many women. Women indeed are the principal workers of the land, though men assist them during the busy seasons of sowing and harvest. The principal work of the men is to build the houses, to provide weapons, clothing, implements and so forth, and to protect the community against raids from foes.

Both men and women are fond of ornaments, especially bracelets and anklets of brass, copper, and iron wire. Women also love large collars of brass wire, these being their chief ornaments. The wire forms the chief article of barter, and together with beads may be said to be the currency of the country. In recent years, since Arab and Swahili traders have found their way into the interior, coarse calico and prints have been added to the articles of barter, and are taking the place of the skins of animals for clothing. The lobes of the ears are pierced and enlarged as in the case of the Wamegi, and large discs of wood are worn in them, though a more common and favourite custom is to thread a small spiral wire coil one or two inches long into the lobe, and to attach to the spiral coil short pieces of chain an inch long, which hang like a fringe from it. In other instances the people wear two or three coils of fine iron chain round their neck, and also pass them through the lobes of the ears.

The bracelets of women are often made so as to extend from the wrists to the elbows, and the anklets from the ankles well up the calf of the leg. Neither men nor women are striking for stature or for beauty, and their scant clothing of dirty goat or sheep skin girdles, or ragged and smelly calico loin-cloths, does not improve their appearance. They are in the habit of rubbing rancid vegetable oil on their bodies, which makes their dark skin darker than it otherwise would be, and, as they seldom wash, their presence is not very agreeable, especially if they are warm from exertion. The hair is short and frizzly, though the men often allow it to grow long, and rub red clay mixed with oil into it,



twisting it to look like black cords, and leaving it until it is so infested with lice that it becomes unbearable, and has to be shaved off to give relief to the wearer. Their lips are thick, and their noses broad, lacking any pretension to a bridge. Still the lower jaw seldom protrudes like the West African's, and the features are on the whole pleasing because of their happy disposition and their readiness to be amused and to laugh.

Women become mothers at an early age and are old at forty-five. They seldom live to any great age, doubtless owing to the hard life they lead, and to the coarse food which is not suited to sustain life in old age. They are a peaceable people. They seldom wage war upon any tribe, though in the past they were frequently called upon to make a stand and protect their cattle against raids of the Masai, and sometimes they have had to fight in order to recover a woman who had been seized by some neighbouring clan. On these occasions they have shown that they are no cowards and can do deeds of courage and bravery. They are not an intelligent tribe, but they adhere tenaciously to their tribal customs, especially to their initiation rites. Their fields and cattle provide them with sufficient food and clothing, while the care of the cattle and the cultivation of the crops supply men and women with mental and physical exercise. They have proved a difficult people to interest in religious matters, and they have resisted past attempts to educate them. Such were the people of one of the most important tribes, whom travellers in those early days had to meet, and from whom they had to obtain food for themselves and their porters, as they passed through the Ugogo plains into the interior of Africa.

The chiefs of Ugogo soon learnt that they could make considerable profits by taxing the travellers who passed through their districts. Missionaries, even more than traders, became profitable prey, because, owing to their calling, they could not make their way by force. Traders, such as Arabs and Swahili, realising their dependence upon the villages for food and water, preferred to pay for permission to pass through the districts, rather than to fight, for this might have caused

the people to leave the neighbourhood through which their path lay. Water was scarce in the dry season. The water-holes depended upon the people of the villages for their cleansing and for the clearing out of the sand, which blows during the long dry season and soon fills them. Hence the maintenance of water-holes depended upon the presence of resident villagers, who soon learned how necessary they were to caravans passing through these deserts, and began to exact a toll from the leaders of parties, before porters were allowed to draw water. When these people found that the toll was readily paid, they took a further step and demanded a tax, varying according to the number of the party, for permission to pass through the country.

This taxation made a journey through Ugogo very expensive, and also delayed a party considerably, because chiefs would often detain them for four or five days, striving to obtain more goods for *hongo*, as the road tax was termed, than the leader was prepared to give. When travellers arrived at a village, the water supply was guarded, and no person was allowed to draw from it, until the chief had received a suitable gift, usually of cotton and print goods. Such a gift would remove all restrictions in regard to water, even though the party remained for several days. Should the chief consider the amount insufficient for the number of men belonging to the party, he would demand more, refusing permission to the thirsty men to draw water until his demand was met. Some travellers have lost porters at some of these village wells, because the men refused to wait for the water toll to be paid. Indeed one or two Europeans have themselves lost their lives through the indiscretion of porters, who ran to draw water, before arrangements had been made with the chief. In one case the porters were speared, and a free fight followed, in which the natives treacherously killed the leader, a missionary, who was trying to make peace.

After the water tax had been settled, there remained the further question of the road tax, *hongo*, for the necessary permission to travel forward. Several days would be spent

haggling over the amount to be paid. Even then the road-tax paid to a chief sufficed only for the district of that particular chief, and had to be renewed with the next chief through whose district the party passed. Bundles of calico were spread out, those kinds selected which were thought most suitable, and appropriate quantities taken to the chief, who would in all probability ask for more. It was therefore wise to offer as little as possible in the first instance, and then grudgingly add to the amount, until the avaricious chief was satisfied. It seldom happened that a chief accepted the amount first offered to him. Thus a day or two would be spent sending messages and doling out a few more pieces of print, one at a time, until the chief accepted the amount and allowed the party to proceed.

Porters were never in a hurry to accomplish a journey. They received their daily rations, and were happy to remain on the road as long as possible, because they were paid by the month. Hence their wages accumulated, and they were sure to be paid when they returned to the coast with their time-bills which they could present to the agent. It was difficult to make them complete full daily marches. They would stop in an inhabited district on the slightest pretext, and propose to camp, even though they had been marching for only a few miles, or they would urge what they deemed good reasons for remaining in camp an additional day, if food was plentiful.

The people of the country soon discovered the craven character of the Swahili, and how easily he could be robbed of his load, especially if a straggler, and they were not slow to take advantage of this knowledge. On a march it always required tact and skill and a firm hand to keep the porters together. Otherwise first one and then another would fall out, under one pretext or another, and sit down to rest, never realising the danger of being robbed or killed. Before a party left the vicinity of a village in the early morning, some warriors would not unfrequently go off to some lonely place favourable to highwaymen, and would lie in hiding. They would then spear any straggler and carry off his load

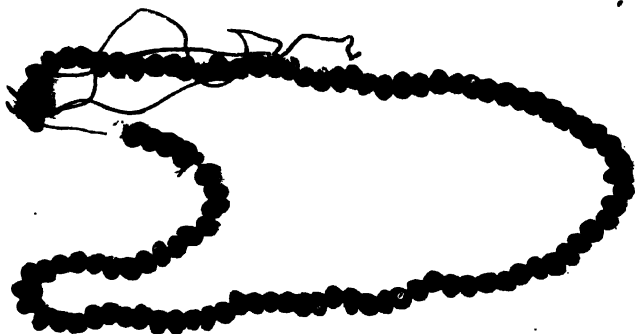


GRAVES OF BISHOP PARKER AND A. MACKAY AT BUSAMBIRO,  
LAKE VICTORIA



THATCHED FETISH ROCK IN BUSOGA

PLATE V



UGANDA FETISH NECKLET



UGANDA FETISHES

to the forest and hide it, without attracting the notice of any member of the travelling party. The absentee would not be missed for several hours, and then it would be too late to render him assistance. It was therefore necessary to keep the men well together, to march in an unbroken line in single file, and, if any man needed to stop for any reason, to call upon the whole party to halt, then ascertain the cause for delay, and once more move on together. Even this precaution did not wholly remove the danger of an attack. In one case, after paying the water and road taxes, we were proceeding slowly on our journey, because the men were feeling tired after walking for four hours. The path lay through a long plain with only a few tufts of long grass on it, and all seemed safe, when suddenly two or three gun shots rang out, and bullets passed over us. A halt was called, and the order given to stack loads rapidly and to lie behind them. Some of the men had already dropped their loads and were about to rush off, and it was only by the prompt order to stack loads and lie down, that the whole party was kept from running away. This prompt action restored the confidence of the men, who then returned the fire in the direction of a clump of grass, from which the shots had come, as could be seen from the smoke. Our attitude showed the highwaymen that we were not going to run away and leave our goods; so they fled, and we were able to resume our march after a short delay, and reached camp without further incident. No one had been hurt, which was fortunate. Usually these highwaymen pick out some man and with unerring aim bring him down. Owing to the suddenness of the attack and the panic caused by the death of the man, they are often able to carry off one or two of the most valuable-looking loads.

On another occasion the party was passing along a narrow winding path through a belt of scrub. We had turned a bend in the path which hid some of the men from view, when a sound like that of a galloping horse was heard. A halt was called, and some of us ran back to ascertain the cause of the noise, when we encountered some of the porters making a

stampede and dropping their loads. This was the noise which we had heard. The hindermost men were attacked by a small party of highwaymen, who used their spears, seized the loads, and dragged them quickly along the ground into the scrub. It appeared that several spears had been thrown and had struck loads which men were carrying, whereupon they threw them down and bolted for their lives. Our return prevented some of the loads being carried off, and we were able to rescue several more, which were abandoned by the robbers in the bushes, when they saw us coming. Such occasions need a calm bearing and prompt action to inspire the men with confidence and save the party. Highwaymen will retreat when they see a European coming forward, but they always expect to see porters flee and leave their loads. Our losses on this occasion were restricted to barter goods. Six bales of these were carried off, but again fortunately no porter was wounded. The Swahili porter is always ready to throw down his load and flee, when there is the appearance of danger; and it is necessary for the leader to be in the rear of the party, where he can see all his men and control their actions. This craven fear of the Swahili may possibly be due to his former experience, when he was captured by the Arabs and made a slave, or to the harsh treatment which he commonly receives from his masters.

In Ugogo there are two long waterless plains, which in the past were the most dreaded portion of the entire journey of eight hundred miles from the coast to Lake Victoria. Why some other way had not been discovered, with water at easy stages, it is difficult to say. True, time was saved by the straight path through the desert; but the waterless tracts were on the route usually followed, and they had to be faced and crossed. In the longer of the two plains there are two deep wells. It is said that they were dug by a pastoral people (Wataturu) who once inhabited that part of the country with their herds, but who have retired to some more congenial district, leaving, as a great boon to travellers the deep wells, which have never been known to run dry. The desert in each case consists of sandy soil on which are clumps

scrub with leafless branches, and acacias with their thorny spikes. On all sides there is parched ground with nothing but glittering sand. Even the dry blades of grass are in most cases broken off and blown away by the hot winds.

The first plain cannot be more than forty miles across, but is more than porters attempt to accomplish in one march, and, as the heat is intense, they prefer to do most of the walk in the cool of the day or by night. When parties enter this waterless tract, it is usual to make a stop and rest on the border where there is water, until two or three o'clock in the afternoon, when, after a good meal, the men fill their gourds with water, shoulder their loads, and step out briskly for the long walk. In our case we had been delayed an hour or two by a native from the interior, who, with his wife and one male companion, had joined our party near the coast, and wished to accompany us through the plains. He had journeyed with us in safety through Ugogo, and was anxious not to be left behind. At one o'clock he came to ask whether we could wait a little longer as his wife had just been confined, but he said that she would be ready to go on in an hour's time. To our surprise she not only walked on these trying marches, but also carried her baby and a small load of camp goods for her husband, while he carried her load together with his own. We commenced our journey about two o'clock in the afternoon, and continued to march until it was too dark to go on. The men were by that time so tired that they dropped their loads and lay down beside them, to get what rest they could. We Europeans had a brief meal, made tea from the water which we carried, and lay down on the sand to sleep, until the call for renewed marching awoke us, when the party scrambled to their feet and set off again in the dim light of the moon. We followed the leader who, more by instinct than by sight, seemed to know the road over the waste of sand, and managed to lead us towards the inhabited country over the desert. When morning broke, there was still some distance to be traversed before we should reach our camp and water. So after a short rest, and a little more refreshment with hot



coffee, we began the most trying part of the journey. It was the worst part, because the strength of the men had begun to give out; they drank their water and wanted to rest frequently, and some of them begged to be left behind to die, as they felt unable to continue the march.

Sickly and feeble porters suffer dreadfully during these forced marches. Some of them are so imprudent as to commence the march across the desert without any water, and others soon drink the little which they have taken at the outset. On these dreary marches the European leader needs to keep a sharp watch over his headmen, as they will sell small cups of water for exorbitant prices. On one occasion a porter was offering to pay a whole month's wages for a gourd containing two pints of water, and on another occasion, when the headman had refused to sell the water which he had, a porter tried to sell himself as a slave for one drink from a gourd which he carried. The most satisfactory method we found was to pay two or three of the best walkers a small sum to hurry on to the wells with their loads, to deposit them in charge of one of their number, and to return with water for those who had failed through thirst to make progress. This plan undoubtedly saved several lives. It was no uncommon sight to see skeletons of men lying on the path where they had fallen down and died from want of water. At one place we saw a dead man lying with his load of cowry-shells only two or three miles from water.

The most pitiable sight was by the wells known as the Watuturu wells, situated in the middle of the larger desert. Hither porters and travellers had dragged themselves, and then had found no means of drawing the water which was some twelve or more feet below the surface. Thus they had died from thirst close to the wells. On one journey through these deserts, when we reached these wells, we discovered the body of a man in the water, and as the wells are connected by a tunnel, all the water was contaminated. Evidently the man had fallen into the well when trying to reach the water. We were forced to drink the foul liquid or to go without. It was too

smelly to bathe in, but by boiling it, and disguising it with tea, we were able to swallow it. Some cows travelling with us refused to drink the water. People little realise what they can drink, until sorely pressed by thirst in a tropical country. On another occasion the only water obtainable at a camping ground was so thick and muddy that only half a tea-cupful dripped through a piece of cambric, through which it was left to filter during the night. Sometimes a slimy green growth had to be pressed down to obtain water from a water-hole. These are extreme cases, which fortunately do not often occur and then only at the end of the dry season. Generally there is water enough for every man; food also of a kind can be obtained, though it may not be the most palatable to the refined English taste.

It is a matter of interest and wonder to an observant traveller to see the large herds of cattle which the Wagogo and Wasakuma possess, looking so well and in such excellent condition during the dry season, when there is no pasturage to be seen but burnt up grass. It may be that there are other grounds for pasturage, where the animals can find more to eat than on the plains near the villages. The people say that there is nothing but the same dry grass in the district. All the wild animals leave these regions when the water dries up, and make for the well-watered land, where green grass can be obtained.

In the year 1890 the cattle plague was by some inadvertence introduced into this part of Africa, and spread with alarming rapidity into the interior. Within a short time there were thousands of dead cattle lying about in Ugogo and Usakuma, far too numerous for the wild scavenger animals to devour, and no attempt was made by the people of the districts to bury or destroy the decaying carcasses. The smell near any village wherever animals had crawled and died and had been left by the natives to decompose was beyond description. It was horrible to have to pass such places. The wonder was that the people did not suffer from an epidemic of typhoid. For years afterwards bones lay about, bleaching and crumbling in the sun, marking what had been the chief cattle centres.

It was this cattle plague that reduced the Masai to want, and broke their haughty spirit. All pastoral peoples were forced to resort to vegetable diet, or to die, and the Masai endeavoured to make friends with agricultural peoples whom they had previously despised, in order to obtain from them the means of existence. A few cows were saved in different places, and these became a stock for replenishing the country, which is again fairly well supplied. Even of wild animals numbers died from the plague, and for several years after it had ended there were few buffaloes to be found.

When the Ugogo plains are left behind, two new tribes of people are encountered, the Wanyamwezi, who inhabit the country from Ugogo to the south of Lake Victoria, with their cousins the Wasakuma, who occupy the country on the east shores of Lake Victoria. Both these large tribes are pure Bantu. At one time they were governed by the powerful king Mirambo, who lived near Lake Tanganyika, and in whose country Livingstone died. On the death of king Mirambo the two tribes separated, and they have since been governed by local chiefs, who have no power outside their limited spheres of country. From these two tribes the strongest and best porters of East Africa are to be obtained. For many years past large numbers of men and women have carried heavy loads of ivory to the coast and driven down herds of fat cattle for sale, bringing in return bales of calico and prints, together with firearms of a primitive kind, and ammunition. Travellers must often have thought that the obsolete firearms of every European nation were sent over for these people. Here could be found the earliest kind of firelock and of percussion cap guns; and in later times new batches of breech-loading guns arrived, as one particular type was superseded by some other kind, and the former were discarded by the military authorities of European nations. For many years firearms were the principal article for barter used by Arabs for the purchase of slaves; and in some parts of the country a peaceable traveller could not obtain food or any other needful article, unless he had ammunition for sale.

Little is known of either the Wanyamwezi or the Wasakuma tribes beyond their great power for carrying loads. Many of the men would comfortably carry two of the largest ever carried by Swahili porters, and march along at the head of the party, singing cheerfully. The villages in which these people live, are much larger and appear more prosperous than those nearer the coast. Their houses are round huts with conical roofs. They are clustered together within a strongly fenced compound, obviously intended for protection against hostile tribes. The people are kindly disposed; they are pleased to see visitors, and welcome porters to whom they can sell food. Their mode of life is simple; they live almost entirely upon grain foods, meat, whether of wild or domestic animals, being a luxury not often enjoyed. They are the most musical of all the Bantu tribes met with from the coast to Lake Victoria. Their music is vocal, instruments of any kind being rarely found. When on journeys as porters, they are fond of singing round songs, as they sit by their fires in the evening. The effect is most pleasing, and in the distance it sounds as though they were well trained, bass and tenor voices being found among the performers.

On the borders of Usakuma, and often intermingling with the Wasakuma, are to be found the pastoral people, Watuturu, who also grow a little corn, though their chief food is milk, and their herdsmen are nomadic. The elderly men and women have settled homes and carry on a little agriculture, especially the cultivation of millet. In appearance the Watuturu are more like the people of Ankole. It is possible that they are a branch of those pastoral tribes. They are said to wander about the south end of Lake Victoria, where there are many springs of water, and the grass is good and abundant for their herds.

The Victoria Nyanza can be seen some miles before it is reached. In the distance, viewed from a hill ten or twenty miles away, it looks somewhat like a white cloud owing to the bright light reflected from it. No doubt many people have mistaken its dazzling waters for mist, as they glittered in the bright sunshine. Near the shores of this mighty inland sea,

on its eastern side, there is to be found a belt of green grass and of trees always in leaf, which abounds with animal life, from the elephant and hippopotamus to the mouse, and from the huge eagle and swan to the tiny humming-bird, more like a butterfly than a bird. There are land-birds and water-birds, as there are land- and water-animals, and reptiles, both the most beautiful and the most loathsome; and, as the variety of birds and beasts is great, so also is their food supply. At one camp overlooking the lake we saw a cow hippopotamus disporting herself in the water with her calf standing on her back. She was rising and spouting up the water, and then sinking from sight for a time, soon to reappear and snort. Anon lazy crocodiles floated about on the surface of the water or basked at full length on some rocky island. After the weary waterless tracks through which we had marched, it was most refreshing and delightful to gaze upon so much water and life, to breathe in long draughts of fragrant air after the scorching atmosphere from the Ugogo plains, or to lounge comfortably in our tents and hear the hum of insects, the notes of birds, and the ripple of water. It certainly needed the dark figures of the men and boys, to keep the mind from thinking that it was some beautiful spot in Europe seen in fancy—a picture of a summer's day.

## CHAPTER V

### TRAVELLING BY CANOE ON LAKE VICTORIA—A STORM— WRECKED CANOES—HOSPITALITY OF THE BAGANDA— RAVAGES MADE BY SLEEPING SICKNESS

**F**EW travellers, perhaps it is safe to say none who have not traversed it, have any idea of the vast extent of the waters of Victoria Nyanza. As an expanse of water its dimensions surpass those of a lake; it is really an inland sea. Under normal conditions it is smooth and calm, with scarcely a ripple on its surface; but when strong winds blow, and gales sweep over its surface, waves rapidly rise, which make even the large steamers of these later days roll and pitch in an uncomfortable manner. A friend who had spent many years of his life in the Navy, said that he never knew what sea-sickness was, until he came to travel in his steamer on Lake Victoria and was in a storm. The size of the lake has been well compared to that Scotland, and this comparison gives a good idea of its area. It is certainly a large sheet of water with many interesting and picturesque islands in it. In former years these were thickly peopled, but the ravages of sleeping sickness have cleared off almost the whole population.

Some of the islands are five miles long and nearly as wide, while one island in the north of the lake is more than double that length and breadth; others are merely pointed rocks, jutting out of the water, without a blade of grass or as much earth on them as would grow a mustard seed. Such rocks are resting places for water-birds, especially for fish eagles and ducks; other islands are the homes of crocodiles and large water-lizards. The water is beautifully fresh, and appears most pleasing to the eye of the traveller after the long stretches of desert sand. It is also sweet to the taste, especially after the muddy pools from which he has had to drink, at times even paying large sums of money for a pail

of dirty slush. The lake is an attractive sight, as it flashes and ripples in the warm sunshine, with its fringe of never fading trees with their shades of green lighted up with the bright colours of tropical flowers, or the beautiful water plants and lilies floating gracefully in shallow water. There is also the charm of the music of many birds as they flit about, brightening the scene with their exquisitely coloured plumage; and the larger birds, as they stand on rocks or branches of trees with extended wings, dry their feathers after a spell of work in the water, and at times give a drowsy call of encouragement to their more energetic brethren who are still engaged in fishing near by. The past weary marches through wastes of sand seem more like a bad dream, as this lovely scene floats before the gaze of the traveller; or he may think that this is the dream, and the other the reality to be again endured, and he needs to rouse himself and realise that he is not sleeping, and that things are really what they appear before his eyes.

When Mutesa was king of Uganda in the year 1870 and afterwards, and Mirambo was king of Unyamwezi, this huge lake formed a natural barrier which kept two of the most powerful and ambitious potentates of Central Africa apart; the one never invaded the kingdom of the other. Though threats were often uttered, the lake proved to be a safe barrier. In his most prosperous days Mutesa is said to have shaken his fist over the waters at his rival, and to have threatened him with invasion; but it ended with a shake of the fist and a wag of the tongue, for neither king ever attempted to send an expedition round the lake to invade the territory of the other, and it was too great a task to furnish canoes to carry an adequate army across miles of water.

The lake on the western and north-eastern sides is surrounded by hills and high land, though there are spots with gently rising plains, which give the impression of being almost level with the surface of the water. The water itself stands 4300 feet above sea level. In some places the hills run down to the shore, and end abruptly in sheer precipices with rocky faces

rising over a hundred feet from the water. These are often covered with green moss, while ferns and plants with beautiful foliage find root-hold in places where water trickles down to the lake. The lake is fed by several large rivers and numbers of smaller streams. Of the larger rivers the Katonga on the west and the Nzoia in the north may be said to be the greatest. Each of these drains large tracts of country, and is ever pouring volumes of water into this mighty lake. Here too we find the source of the Nile, its beginning being the rocky overflow of the lake known as the Ripon Falls. These falls are disappointing to anyone who visits them expecting to see water dropping from a vast height into a ravine. There is nothing of the kind to be found. But the falls are most wonderful and interesting owing to the volume of water which rushes over the rocky outlet, and boils up in the huge stone caldron below, with a deafening roar, as the water rises nearly to the height of the overflow itself, and then falls away in its stony path on its passage to Egypt.

The width of the outlet from the lake is about half a mile. It is divided into four parts by mighty rocks standing out of the water, looking as though they might some day be washed over into the pool below. The water above the falls looks smooth and calm, and it is difficult to realise that the current is at all strong, indeed its strength can only be judged by objects on the surface when near to the rocks, where the water can be seen to be rushing at a great speed over the falls. The actual drop of the water can be little more than a hundred feet, because it is churned up in the rocky basin, and rises to a considerable height as it meets the torrent from the lake. Birds and fishes are fascinating at this spot. Shoals of trout may be seen under the lee of the projecting rocks, making frantic efforts to gain the upper waters, jumping up the rocks and being washed back again. Sometimes one of them by a mighty bound reaches the upper waters, and begins its struggle with the current, and is lost to sight; or again some large fish may be seen in the stream of the upper water, making desperate efforts to escape from the rushing current, leaping



from the water and trying to regain the lake, but being carried surely nearer the falls and finally being washed over into the seething mass and possibly stunned or killed as it falls. Besides this deeply interesting study of fish, diver birds may be seen hovering over the turbulent waters. One will make a rapid plunge into the boiling water. This appears to the onlooker to be certain death, but in a few minutes it may be seen coming up in the far distance with a fish in its beak, while it is rocked about on the waves and carried down stream like a small cork on the troubled surface. Again a hovering diver will make a plunge into the current above the falls, and be carried over into the rough water; and the onlooker thinks its career must be ended, but it comes up below the falls, oblivious of the current, with its prey, and gracefully rides to one side of the stream into calmer water, or rises and calmly flies to some tree near by, to eat its meal and rest, before making another descent into the rough waters.

It is indeed a picturesque scene with ever changing life of the most fascinating character. The observer finds it entrancing on a warm day to sit in the shade and look on. The roar of the water can be heard two or three miles away during the night, more especially when one is in bed, and everything is quiet. There were formerly a number of Baganda fishermen at these falls, who made a living by catching the fish that came over the falls and were killed. With the ever increasing rush of Western activities into Uganda, these fishermen seem to have been carried away into the whirlpool of a more lucrative trade, and have left this peaceful life and the thunder of the many waters.

The inhabitants of the islands are a distinct race from the people on the mainland. They divide themselves into three distinct groups: the people on the islands in the northern waters of the lake are known as Bavuma, those occupying the islands and the shore of the central and greater part of the lake are known as Basese, and those in the south are known as the people of Karagwe. In many respects these people

are closely allied to each other, and at one time they may have been members of the same tribe, who were isolated from each other through difficulties of travel and communication, but I am unaware of any careful investigation on this subject having been made. The Basese, after they were subjugated by the Baganda, became enemies of the other inhabitants of the islands. They are all fisherfolk, those in the north and midlake being experts in canoe building, while as sailors they also possess an accurate knowledge of the geography and physical features of the lake, most valuable in navigating the waters. For many years after Europeans had settled in Uganda, the Bavuma held aloof from all efforts on the part of the English to reach them and to make friends with them. They resented any attempts made to land on their islands. This attitude was doubtless due to former attempts on the part of the Baganda to subdue them and to rule over them.

Mutesa, king of Uganda, made several futile efforts to take the island of the Bavuma, and sent one or two large expeditions against it, but the Bavuma were successful in each case in preventing the canoes from landing. The natives stood on the heights to defend their island. Some concealed themselves in bushes near the water, and cast stones from slings with such great accuracy and damaging effect, that they drove the canoes away with many of their occupants wounded. It was not until the British had been resident for some time in Uganda, that this large island was subdued, and the inhabitants learned to regard the British as friends and not foes. Previously to their subjugation, it was never safe for canoes to travel in the vicinity of the island, but they were always subject to attacks. For many years the Basese have been regarded as belonging to Uganda, though they are inferior to the Baganda in physique and in intelligence. The Baganda are inclined to despise these fisherfolk, and marriages between the two tribes have been few in number.

The Basese have kept themselves to the immediate neighbourhood of the lake. A journey to the capital was until recently with some of the inhabitants the event of a lifetime;

many had never been more than a mile inland for any purpose; while numbers of them had not even visited the mainland, and these had most extraordinary ideas of the king and his court. They lived and died on islands three or four miles long and two miles wide, and, with the exception of visits to neighbouring islands, never left their homes. It was from the Basese that the Baganda obtained their canoes and crews, and it was by the skill of these fishermen in the navigation of the lake, that they were able to subdue the people on the more distant islands, and to convey their warriors rapidly against their foes on the southern shores of the lake. The Basese, Bavuma, and Basoga build the largest and finest canoes of all the people in the lake district. They also build the largest and best "dugout" canoes in this region for the ferries of the Nile and of the arms of the lake. In the south of the lake the people on the large island Karagwe are more of the type of the Wasakuma than of the Basese. Their knowledge of the lake is limited, and their canoes are small and poorly built, while all their trade and intercourse have been with the Wasakuma. The scarcity of good timber on the eastern shores of the lake may possibly be a cause of the smallness of the canoes.

The canoes of the Basese are built in sections; a large tree forms the keel, so shaped that it is hollowed on the upper side with thin edges and fitted to join on to the side boards, while the under side is rounded. This keel projects beyond the bows about four feet so as to form a ram. There are two boards, one above the other on each side of the canoe, each board being fourteen or more inches wide. These are kept in position by stout stretchers placed across the canoe; the boards rest one on the other and are stitched together. The stretchers are used by the paddlers as seats. No iron is used for nails or bolts in building a canoe; stitching is the only means used to secure the boards. All the joints are made watertight by caulking them with tow and thin strips of wood. The king of Uganda kept some six or eight large canoes at a port four or five miles distant from his capital. This landing place was known as the King's Port. Leading

to it, he had a private road along which none but the most privileged of his subjects were allowed to pass on pain of death. He was thus enabled to go at pleasure to the lake and spend some time on the water, without attracting the attention of any of his chiefs, and without their even knowing that he was absent from his capital.

The king never walked when outside his enclosure. He was carried on the shoulders of a strong man, and he had always a number of such men near him. They lived in the royal enclosure. The king would call for several of these men, when he wished to visit the lake, and they would carry him off at a rapid rate, first one and then another taking turns, as they grew tired of carrying his Majesty. They would change bearers without allowing the king's feet to touch the ground.

The Basese are the fishermen of the kingdom of Uganda. Each Muganda chief had certain estates, either on the shore of the lake, or on one of the islands, attached to his chieftainship, and his tenants on these estates supplied his table with fish, either fresh or dried. The fish thus supplied was given instead of the taxes which other tenants had to pay each year. In olden times the chief duties of the Basese were to carry troops from one part of the country to another, and to supply fish for their over-lords; but as soon as king Mutesa opened up the trade with the south shore, and Arab and Swahili traders began to enter Uganda, canoes were used to convey these men and their goods into the country. This method of travel saved a long journey round the lake through the territory of hostile tribes.

The king made the traders pay for the use of the canoes and also charged an import duty on the goods which they sold. Suna, the father of Mutesa, was the first king to send a few canoes to the south shore of the lake; but during his reign calico and cotton goods were not allowed to be worn by the common people, and the Arab trade was limited mainly to cowry-shells, firearms, and ammunition. In Mutesa's time the restrictions were removed from cotton goods, and any

person was allowed to wear them. This occasioned a brisk trade in such goods, and in addition there began a considerable trade in slaves and ivory for the purpose of obtaining firearms and ammunition. My personal experience in the use of canoes began at the south end of the lake, when I first entered Uganda. Twelve canoes were sent to convey the goods of a party of missionaries over the lake into Uganda. King Mwanga had heard that the party had reached the lake and needed canoes to convey them into his country. The canoes were of various sizes, most of them small, though they were intended to carry several Europeans with their goods. Some of the party, however, had previously left by other canoes, and one friend, the Rev. R. P. Ashe, preferred to journey round the lake and take as many of his goods as possible with him. Thus the fleet of twelve canoes came to be at my own disposal. The larger canoes carried from twelve to fourteen loads each, while the smaller ones carried only four loads, each load being from sixty to seventy pounds weight.

It was a pleasant experience at first to have nothing to do but to sit and look about and note the wonders of the lake; however, it became somewhat tedious after several days to be seated in a cramped position in a canoe for ten or twelve hours at a time. As a rule the canoes kept together during the early part of the morning, but afterwards the stronger crews left the weaker ones behind. Each steersman guided his canoe from one point of land to another, seldom losing sight of land, and never daring to strike out across any long stretch of the lake, but steering a course close to the shore, and ready, when necessary, to make for shelter, if a storm arose. The daily rule was to make a start at six o'clock in the morning and to paddle steadily at the rate of four miles an hour until noon, or perhaps until two o'clock, and then to camp for the night. The men knew their camping grounds, and accordingly steered their canoes to them. When they reached camp, they removed their cargoes, and dragged their canoes well up the beach out of the water, to ensure their safety from any hostile persons and to prevent them from drifting. They had

their huts higher well out of the reach of the water, and when they had stowed away their loads and goods, they lay about smoking or went away fishing.

Many of the camps were made on small uninhabited islands; the men chose these in preference to the mainland, because they were afraid of night attacks from the inhabitants who were unfriendly owing to their having frequently carried troops in the past into the country. Canoemen never require to buy food when on these journeys, for they carry their own store of provisions and are also able to cook while still on the water. When a meal is required, a man is told to make the fire in an old cooking pot carried in the bows of the canoe, and to bake the plantains for the party; as they are baked, he hands them round, and each recipient rests from paddling while he eats, and in this way the men have their meal while the canoe is kept moving.

For the first few days the voyage was a delightful change from the constant walking through parched country; everything was new, and the canoe songs were fascinating, as one man chanted a refrain, and the chorus was taken up by the crew who kept time to the song with their paddles. There were new birds and insects flitting about every island and near the coasts which engaged the attention, and sometimes a crocodile splashed from a rock into the water, or near the land some animal might be seen to dart away into cover, so adding to the interest of the ever changing scenery. When the canoes were near the mainland, monkeys might be seen in the trees swinging from branch to branch or performing gigantic leaps from one tree to another, while their chattering could be heard as though they dared their companions to follow them in their wild romps and rash leaps. In Speke Gulf there were fully twelve crocodiles floating about like logs of wood on the surface of the calm water; the canoe-men did not fear them, considering them powerless when in deep water, and only shaped their course so as to pass them without making any alteration in their main direction. Paddlers are sometimes too bold when near crocodiles, and

I have met one or two men who may be still alive, who lost an arm by being seized by a reptile. It bit off the arm when trying to drag its prey into the water; the victim had time to grip his canoe and hold on until his arm was bitten off.

Paddlers sit facing the bows of the canoe and spoon the water with leaf-blade-shaped paddles, and one man sits in the stern with a paddle and steers the canoe by putting his paddle first on one side and then on the other, or sometimes by vigorously paddling until he brings the canoe into the direction he wishes it to go. When racing another canoe the steersman usually paddles first on one side of the canoe and then on the other, but at other times he may hold the paddle in the water and pull the canoe into course. On the voyage from Usakuma to Uganda there are two or three long stretches of water in which the islands are so far apart, that it takes from ten to twelve hours to paddle across; to coast round the shores in these parts of the lake would add several days to the journey and be fraught with danger to the canoemen from hostile natives on the mainland. These long stretches of water are often troublesome for canoes to navigate, and are also most dangerous, should a storm break upon the paddlers when they are too far from land to seek shelter. The canoes are excellent craft when the water is smooth, but they will not bear the strain of a rough sea; the long keels will break if they are made to ride the waves, and there is the danger of being swamped if one is running broadside to them. The canoes must, however, be allowed to ride broadside to the waves for safety, and consequently large quantities of water are shipped, and unless several men work hard at baling, the canoe is soon water-logged and sinks. It is usually the duty of one man to keep a watch on the water in the middle of the canoe and to keep it baled out with a wooden ladle; when, however, water pours in over the side, this soon becomes a difficult task, and then the men lose heart and resign themselves to their fate, and are drowned, unless they can be stimulated to work and bale while others paddle.

Before the journey over a long stretch of water is undertaken, the paddlers make a survey of the sky, and they do not start should there be any appearance of a storm; they also take the precaution to call upon Mukasa, the god of the lake, to ask for a good passage over what they term a sea. Much depends upon the weather; hence if there is any sign of a storm coming, the men will not start, or should the lake look as though it would be rough, they defer their journey for a day. When there is a head wind, paddling becomes heavy work, and a choppy sea is both unpleasant and makes the work much harder, whereas a favourable wind helps the men considerably. It is strange that these canoemen have never invented sails; though ingenious in other ways, they have not sought labour-saving means in sailing, but are content to rely upon their strength of arm. On two or three occasions during this journey we were out all day; we did not reach our camping ground until well after dark, with the paddlers tired out. It was pleasant when nearing a camping ground after a long journey to see the small fires flickering in the distance, and to hear the welcome sound of voices, and to be helped to land by the friendly hands of men who had already arrived and settled down for the night.

There was one long journey which we were forced to make by night, because the prevailing wind was against making it by day, and the wind usually changes round in the evening. We commenced this journey at half-past two in the afternoon and paddled until dark, and thus far the men worked well, and we made good progress; we then however lost touch with the other canoes, and the men became weary and fitful in their work. It was a dark night with little to beguile the time after sunset; the spasmodic efforts of the tired men with an occasional attempt at a song failed to break the monotony, so that the time dragged heavily until midnight, when the paddlers said we were nearing an island on which we should camp; the announcement of a prospective camp revived the flagging spirits of the men; they began to put more effort into their mechanical strokes, causing the canoe to redouble



its speed. As we drew near the dark outline of land, one of the men called out that there was a hippopotamus in front; the head of the canoe was quickly turned, and the men began to paddle with their utmost strength, causing the canoe to bound along and thus escape what was thought to be a dangerous animal which would probably attack and smash the canoe, and in all probability kill some of the paddlers. After a few strokes at this rapid rate there was a slight grating sound, and then we stopped dead still, and the canoe began to rock gently: we had run on a submerged rock and were helpless. All the strength of the paddlers and their skill to move the canoe forwards or backwards proved of no avail; the men peered into the gloom, and soon ascertained that the object which they had taken to be an animal was a rock over which the water was gently playing. When satisfied that they were safe from a savage beast, the next thing the paddlers sought to do was to devise some plan for escaping from that trying position: so poles used for punting in shallow water were brought out from the bottom of the canoe, but it was then discovered that we were in deep water, and that the rock on which the canoe was hung was a straight column which could only be felt with the poles, but which afforded no fulcrum from which to lever the canoe. We swung about for two hours in this helpless condition, when to our joy we heard the sound of paddles, and after a time we were able to hail the canoe which was coming in our direction, and we found it to be one of our own belated fleet. The men in this canoe, though very tired, kindly came to our aid; they first tried to tow us off, but we were too firmly fixed to be moved; so it proved necessary to tranship men and cargo and thus lighten the canoe, before it could be moved and refloated. After the cargo and most of the men had been transhipped, the rest of the men went into the stern; this caused the bow to rise, and by towing and paddling the canoe was got off, and we paddled round the island to the camp, which was not far distant. It was about three o'clock in the morning when we arrived in camp, so after a light meal I retired to bed and

slept until eight o'clock. The men were ready by about nine o'clock to resume the journey by which time I had breakfasted, and we continued our way.

A few more canoe journeys after the above experience brought us to the shores of Uganda, with a decided change of scenery from that of Usakuma and the islands in the southern part of the lake. Here in Uganda, as far as the eye could reach, there was lovely green grass upon hill and plain, with trees in full leaf, and plantain groves looking fresh and beautifully cool dotted about on the hill-sides. Soon after we reached our first camp in Uganda, people began to bring us cooked food, which was a novel and delightful experience, and the headman told us it was a gift for which we were not expected to pay; when we expressed our gratitude, the donors thanked us for accepting their gift, and were quite pleased to have a little notice taken of them. To have food cooked and brought to us was so unexpected that we were quite prepared to pay heavily for the luxury, while to obtain vegetable food with fruit after eating nothing but biscuits and meat was a most agreeable change. The coast boys with me also noticed the change in the manners of the people, and remarked: "These are a polite people, they are the first we have met since we left the coast who have a word for thanks in their own language."

Though the great lake has no tide, yet we noticed on the Uganda shore that the prevailing wind was from the lake during the day and to the lake during the night, and that this wind caused the water to run up the shore during the day and to recede some distance during the night, which gave the appearance of a tide. Some Baganda who once visited the coast were much surprised by the waves on the sea shore, and still more so when they tried to drink the water and found it salt; their surprise was complete when they saw the rising tide covering the wide stretches of sand, for they had been accustomed to the fresh water of the great lake with no tide. Some Masai who visited the coast accounted for the ebb tide by saying that the water was taken out to

pasture during the day and brought home in the evening as cows are.

We had now reached Southern Uganda and were able to skirt the lake shore continually and to camp on the mainland; this shore was bright with beautiful scenery, woods, hills and valleys, with here and there a higher hill towering above the rest. Sometimes we crossed an arm of the lake that could be seen to run far inland and end in papyrus grass, with trees rising above and extending up the hill-sides, making a pretty picture. We were not yet, however, out of the region of danger from storms on the lake, and were not to reach our destination without a little more unpleasant excitement. One day, as we were paddling along and quietly crossing an arm of the lake, the men suddenly announced that a storm was coming upon us, and began to paddle with all their might to reach land; we had barely time to reach a place of safety, when gusts of wind began to blow and torrents of rain came down. We were glad to shelter under a clump of trees, and then to run into a native hut which we discovered near by, until the storm passed. Others less fortunate than ourselves had to paddle as best they could to the shore, in the teeth of the storm.

A few days later we were not so fortunate in reaching shore, but were well out at sea, when a storm burst upon us with such suddenness that, before we could reach the land, the waves were lashed up into mountains of water so high that even when standing up in the canoe, it was impossible to see land over them. The steersman said he dared not keep the canoe heading the waves, for they would break the keel; we had therefore to lie broadside on in the trough and trust to make land by paddling in the hollow of the waters. The men on the windward side of the canoe kept their paddles ready to break the force of the waves from coming into the canoe, but in a short time we were water-logged, and the men began to cry, "We are dead men," and to drop their paddles. It was a critical time, I saw that our safety depended upon action, for nothing but hard paddling with ceaseless baling out of the

water could avail: as I did not know more than two or three words of their language, and the paddlers did not know mine, I picked up a paddle and ran along the canoe from seat to seat, slapping each man on the shoulders with it and calling out "Vuga" (paddle), as I passed up and down. The men responded with alacrity, and my boy began to work hard to bale out water, using the only ladle there was in the canoe; to help in this work I used my sun hat, and we worked away to keep the canoe afloat. The men began to gain confidence with their exertions, and we crept slowly nearer the shore and into less troubled water. In half an hour's time we had reached a creek where a crowd stood watching our progress on the shore, and some of the men ran into the water up to their necks and seized the canoe and soon dragged it high on to dry land. The water was boiling and lashing itself into fury over a rocky entrance of the bay into which we had run, and had it not been for the ready help of the natives from the shore, we should have sunk in the surf and lost our cargo. The natives shook us by the hand as we landed, and congratulated us on our escape, as though we were their relatives; it was most refreshing to find people so interested in our welfare. When we were safe, we waited anxiously for the other canoes to come in. They had a terrible struggle; we could see them being lifted up on the crests of the waves, and then for a few moments they would be lost to sight in the hollows of the water, but the men stuck manfully to their work, and one after the other the canoes came slowly to land. The waves seemed to resent the canoes entering the small bay in which we lay; they swept across the mouth in great fury, throwing themselves in mad anger upon the rocks, then roaring like fiends at having lost their prey, they fell back into the gulf below. Two canoes were swamped at this point and sank, but the men were rescued, and only a poor goat, which was tied in the canoe, was drowned. I feared that all my goods in these two canoes were lost, but when the water became calm towards evening, some of the men went out in another canoe; one man dived and secured lines to the

sunken canoes; paddlers then dragged them into shallow water and rescued the goods. The goods which were in the canoes were chiefly cotton barter goods, so we were able to open the bales and to spread the goods on the sands in the sun, and when dry to make them up again into bales, which were but little worse for the wetting. A few personal objects such as books and a camera were spoiled. The canoe-men made a meal of the poor goat, and were perfectly happy over their feast after their trying experience. The rest of the voyage passed happily, we had made a fairly quick passage, having travelled two hundred miles by water in twelve days, which was two days under the usual time taken. Thus my first journey on the great lake ended. Many lake journeys have been undertaken since that time, but none has been so full of adventures.

When steamers were introduced on the lake, the natives thought that such "canoes" could not make the same progress as their smaller canoes, and were incredulous when we tried to explain that the speed with which they travelled was more than twice as great; they said they would soon prove that they could outstrip a steamer, and prepared for a race. This opinion of superiority of speed was shared by some of the chiefs and even by the king of Uganda, who had a secret belief that his men could not be beaten. The Commissioner kindly invited King Mwanga to visit and inspect the steamer when it arrived in Uganda, and the captain arranged a race with the Uganda canoes. When all was ready for the race, King Mwanga had his best canoe and a picked crew waiting; he took his place on the steamer to watch the fun and also to see the wonderful working of the engines; he quite expected to see his crew dart ahead and leave the steamer in the far distance. The canoe was manned by twenty-two strong paddlers, and both canoe and steamer started at the same moment. At first the canoe shot away while the steamer picked up her anchor and got under weigh; this delighted the paddlers and Mwanga, the latter giving expression to his delight and cheering his canoemen, who shouted defiant

messages. Their surprise was great when the steamer began to move, and when it easily caught up the canoe and then left it behind; the paddlers worked bravely for a short time to try to catch up the monster canoe, but soon gave way and acknowledged themselves beaten. King Mwanga returned to land, expressing his astonishment at such a marvel that could so easily overtake and leave behind his most rapid canoe, and he gave the English credit for working great wonders in ships.

During the past few years the best canoes have had to be destroyed, and the people on the islands of the lake have been removed to places inland, owing to the prevalence of sleeping sickness; it was found necessary to destroy the canoes in order to prevent the people from returning to their old homes on the islands where it was found that the greatest number of deaths from the scourge was taking place. The disease is spread by the bite of a small fly, not unlike a house-fly in size and shape, which lives in the grass and reeds along the shores of the lake; this fly is particularly noxious and is the principal medium for transmitting the microbe which causes the disease; it has infected birds, monkeys and many other kinds of warm-blooded animals in the lake region. By the expulsion of the natives from the lake districts, industries such as fishing, canoe building, and navigating the waters of the lake have ceased, while the fisherfolk live the life of exiles on the mainland and long for permission to return to their old haunts and birthplaces, even though they would thereby run the risk of contracting the disease and of dying. To many of these fisherfolk the inland life is more like banishment and imprisonment than anything else, and they frequently beg to be allowed to return to die in their own land. In the meantime the art of canoe building is fast dying out, and unless some means are taken to preserve the knowledge, the art will be lost altogether. On the other hand it is doubtful whether the germs of the disease, which has worked such havoc in the land, will ever be eradicated; no remedy has been found, though the greatest skill of medical science has

been and still is hard at work seeking it. The only course at present seems to be that of allowing nature to fight the battle, and to hope that the survivors will in time become immune to the effects of the disease, and will raise up a strong or at least an immune progeny to inherit the land.

Many stories of heroism could be told on the part of teachers who gave up home and life to go to help the sick, how they faithfully laboured and died for their fellow men; both men and women have gone to this work, knowing the risks they ran of contracting the disease, and in many cases they have died at their posts. These cases of voluntary help are the more remarkable, because previous to the introduction of Christianity no native would render assistance to any man of another clan. In the early years of missionary work I have seen men and women being left to die by neighbours, when a little attention might have saved their lives and when no member of their own clan was at hand to nurse them. The influence of Christianity has been, and is being, shown in the lives of many of these natives who have embraced the Christian faith.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE COUNTRY AND PEOPLE OF UGANDA

THE construction of the Uganda railway has done much to improve the conditions of the interior of Africa. It has made slavery impossible, not only by enabling the Government to have a sufficient number of troops taken into the interior in order to enforce sound laws, but also by removing one of the greatest reasons for slavery, namely the desire to use human beings as beasts of burden and machines for labour, costing little beyond the necessary food. It has also opened up the country and placed new ideas of life before the people. By reducing the toil and weariness of travel to a minimum, it has enabled numbers of people to go to the coast and given them a fresh outlook upon the world; it has changed the aspect of native life, giving nobler motives for living. As for the journey to Uganda, it has become a pleasure trip instead of a long, tedious, and dangerous journey. The railway has removed the many risks to health and the bodily dangers to which each traveller was exposed; it has changed what was a serious undertaking into a pleasure, and it has opened up some of the grandest scenery of the world, and given access to some of the finest specimens of animal life that can anywhere be found. All this can be seen from the comfortable railway carriage, as the train passes on its way into the interior.

The journey from the coast to Uganda now takes fewer days than it took months in the past. It is possible to reach Uganda from London within a month, whereas it used to be thought smart work if the destination was reached within six months; the usual period was eight or nine months. Another great boon is the regular monthly mail and the telegraphic communication; in early days there was an interval of three or four months between the mails, and



letters were often eight months old when they were received. There is now a telegraph which makes known within an hour important events occurring in Europe, whereas it used to take two months to send a message by special runner to the coast to be cabled to England. The news of the death of the late beloved Queen Victoria reached Uganda soon after it was announced in London. The effect of the news on the natives was strange; within an hour after it had reached the country, the announcement was made in the market place, where a brisk trade was being carried on, and the value of British coinage, rupees and pice, dropped to nil; rupees were immediately sold for two or three cowry-shells, the regular value being a thousand cowry-shells for a rupee. It required some explanation to enable the people to realise that there was no depreciation of coinage through the death of a European sovereign. They had been accustomed to think that everything changed when the king died, and that even all reforms might change or end with the king, and lawlessness reign, until the new king acceded and began a new order.

The ease and the rapidity with which the traveller moves through the vast regions from the coast to the lake have however their disadvantages, if he wishes to study native customs and character, and to explore the country; it is impossible to know anything about the many tribes through whose country he is passing, and he obtains mere glimpses of the physical features of the country; he also misses the adventures common to the past mode of travel. Still there are few men, if any, who will not give unqualified praise to British enterprise, and render honour to the men who so energetically and successfully overcame the difficulties of constructing the railway, and made the change which has given to Central Africa the rapid means of progress, and has done so much to make slavery a thing of the past. It has brought within the reach of the natives of the interior some of the better things of the world, civilisation with its advantages of education, and safety of life and property.

In the early days of travel the remarkable spectacle of

social progress and order which burst upon the gaze of the traveller when he entered Uganda, caused him the utmost astonishment. After passing through country after country of semi-clothed barbarians who lived and acted in a manner little removed from the wild animals around them, a worse condition of affairs might reasonably have been expected in the far interior, and not a change for the better; yet here he was suddenly confronted with men and women clothed and clean, with polished manners and becoming demeanour. He was prepared for a lower stage in morals and culture, and to find gentlefolk with the courtesy and manners of highly educated people was indeed a surprise. To the present day there has been no adequate explanation given for their state of culture.

Both sexes in Uganda are well clothed, for an edict was issued by a former king, ordering both men and women to wear clothes, and fining any who went out naked; the men in those early days wore bark-cloths in the toga fashion, while the women had beautiful terra-cotta coloured bark-cloths wrapped round their bodies, passing under the arms and extending to their feet; these they secured round the waist by a neat girdle of the same material, but of a lighter colour; their soft dark skin was beautifully clean, and their heads with short curly hair were well kept; their faces, ears, and mouths were free from mutilations or tribal marks, so different from the tribes which the traveller meets on all sides of Uganda.

As a nation the Baganda are clean in their habits and most particular about their person, dress, food and general appearance; the floors of their houses are neatly carpeted with sweet-smelling grass, upon which the inmates sit, while a mat or rug is spread upon it for the visitor, because stools and chairs were forbidden; it was regarded until quite recently as an immodest act for a woman to sit upon any raised seat. There are, it is true, among the poorer people some few homes where the wife is found to be untidy and the house dirty, but these houses are happily the exception,

not the rule. These signs of cleanliness and order at once attract the attention of the most casual observer, and he further learns that the people are superior to their neighbours in almost every other respect. The sanitary arrangements, it is true, were not in keeping with the cleanliness described above, and it took some years to work the necessary reform until the people consented to use cesspools about their homes.

The physical features of Uganda differ considerably from the flat, dry country of Ugogo and Usakuma; it is hilly and well watered, and almost every valley is swampy ground, while some valleys contain deep water held up by papyrus growth extending from hill to hill often a mile across. The country is almost always green with numberless evergreen trees; and with grass even in the hottest season of the year there is suitable pasturage for the large herds of cattle and the flocks of goats and sheep which wander over these public lands. There are large tracts of country under cultivation; sometimes the main road from the capital to the home of some important chief winds through miles of plantain groves well cultivated, looking fresh and green, and delightfully cool after the heat in the plains and open country; the amount of water is undoubtedly the secret cause of the fertility and wonderful growth of plantains. The swamps are not an unmixed blessing, for they are the breeding places of mosquitoes, and the homes of dangerous animals. The huts of the people are hidden away among these plantain groves and are often invisible from the outskirts or neighbouring hills because of the height of the trees; they are often enclosed by high reed fences with neat courtyards in front, thus giving the impression of comfort and privacy. The sloping sides of the hills are favourite sites for the building of huts; the architect invariably excavates a level place upon which he builds his hut. A notable feature of these huts is that the doorway always looks to the side of the hill; this shuts out the view which there might have been of the landscape. The only reason for this arrangement seems to be that storms would drive into the house if the door faced the exposed side;

and it is certainly wise to avoid undue exposure in a hut where the doorway has to serve the duties of window, chimney, and also inlet and outlet to the home.

The roads are striking, especially when compared with the narrow tracks in other parts of Africa; they are kept free from weeds and grass; even the private path leading to some small single hut from the main road is kept free from the growth of weeds and is at least three feet wide, while public roads from the capital to the dwellings of important chiefs are often from twelve to fourteen feet wide. Where a road crosses a swamp, a bank of earth is raised well above the water and four or five feet wide to form the path; openings are left in it where there is a stream; the bank at the opening is faced with piles driven into the mud and bridged with trees so that pedestrians can cross it without wetting their feet.

These roads and bridges are indications of a superior people, and they strike the pedestrian, who has travelled from the coast through less civilised countries along narrow tracks, with agreeable surprise; in districts even near the coast a tree falling across the path is left where it falls, it is no man's duty to remove it; so the traveller has to walk round or climb over it. These advanced qualities and marks of civilisation of the Baganda are not the result of any outside influence being brought to bear upon them, they are of much earlier date than the time of their contact with either the Nubian or the Arab. There are to be found a few traces of Nubian and of Arab influence, particularly in dress, in mat-making, and soap-making, which are of much later date than the wearing of the bark-cloth toga or the finely dressed skin of animals; the chief influence of the Arabs is seen in ways of little credit to them, such as the introduction of firearms and, worse still, of venereal diseases and lax morals. The principal trace of contact with the Nubians is to be seen in the loose cotton breeches and the sandals, which were copied by some Baganda who visited Khartoum during the time that Gordon Pasha was there; these men also brought back cotton seed and started the growth of an inferior kind of cotton tree.

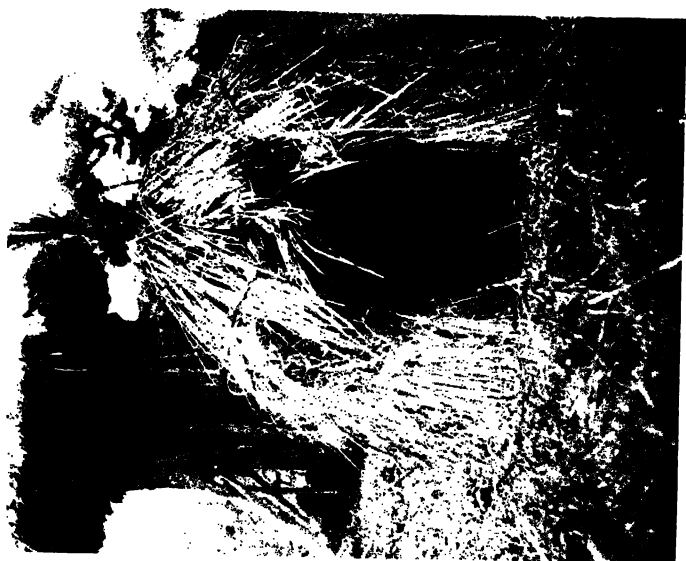
A most interesting study which especially concerns the anthropologist is to account for the great progress which the people have made in social and political life; they have advanced from the degraded barbarity of primitive nations to a stage approaching very nearly to that of civilised government. An explanation of this wonderful progress, which still retains striking inconsistencies in social organisation, may be found in an early immigration of a superior people who settled in the country, conquered the aborigines, and brought in a higher grade of social customs, but who allowed certain old practices of the conquered people to continue side by side with their own more cultured customs. The aborigines were doubtless raised by these invaders to a level above that of their barbarous neighbours, while they received new incentives to attain to higher ideals.

A striking instance for thinking that a new and powerful race entered the country is to be found in the totemic rules for royalty, where the totems of the mother become those of the children; that is to say, we find traces of matrilineal descent among royalty still in force, whereas among common people children take the paternal totems, and patrilineal descent is strictly followed.

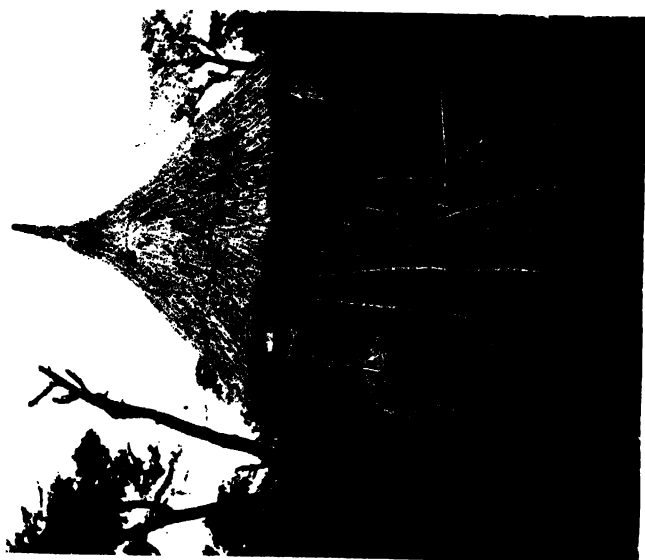
Again, according to the marriage laws of Uganda, it is a criminal offence for any man to marry a woman of the clan of his father or of his mother; each child of his father's brother he regards as his own brother or sister; he also regards all children of any male member of his father's generation as brothers or sisters. All members of his father's clan a generation above him he regards as parents; members of his own generation as brothers and sisters, and those of a younger generation as his children, therefore they are all of the forbidden degree of consanguinity. The brothers and sisters of the mother are regarded by her children as parents, and so they too come within the forbidden degree of marriage. The kings of Uganda, however, have always married their sisters, indeed the queen must be the king's sister. It is true that a half sister rather than a full sister is sought for this marriage,



BUFFALO SHOT BY F. A. KNOWLES, ESQ.



ANKOLE GHOST SHRINE



ANKOLE GRAIN STORE

still marriage with a full sister is permissible; in either case king and queen have the totems of their father in common, but these are not used, it is those of the mother which they ordinarily follow. Only when the king and queen have different mothers, can they be said to be of different clans.

Another custom of royalty which differs considerably from the custom of the common people is that of the disposal of the dead. Kings are not buried in the earth, but they have large mausoleums built, in which the body is laid after it has been carefully embalmed by a lengthy process which lasts at least six months. The jawbone of a king is removed from the body, and the tomb is sealed and not cared for, but allowed to fall into decay. The jawbone is removed, cleaned, decorated, and preserved, with the stump of the king's umbilical cord; these are preserved in a well-kept temple and are deified.

Common people are buried in the earth in burial grounds belonging to the clan on the day of death or during the next day, and there is no process of embalming them. The graves of men are guarded by one or more of the widows of the deceased; the body must be buried near others of the same clan, though it must not rest in the same grave with any other body; the grave is kept in perfect order for a period of two or more years, but as after this period the ghost may be reincarnated, the grave is left to crumble away, and all traces of it disappear. During the time that the ghost still remains in the spirit world the grave is guarded, because the relatives of the deceased fear that they may have some hostile visit from the ghost, should they be negligent in their care of the grave. Though the people do not expressly teach a doctrine of reincarnation, still they believe that spirits are reborn after a period of about two years. Reincarnation may take place at any time after a period of two years; whether it has taken place is decided by members of the clan at a ceremony which is performed over an infant to discover which clan spirit animates the child. It is never said that kings die; there is only a change of existence, and there is therefore no reincarnation for them; they are deified. The



fact that the customs for kings are so contrary to those for the common people gives reason for thinking that the kings were an outside conquering race who subdued the primitive people, and as far as possible fused two religions, the result being what is commonly known as Lubare worship.

Tradition relates that the first king came from the north-east. The people who most nearly answer to the characteristics of these kings are the Gallas, and there is some evidence of an early migratory stream of these Gallas into the Nile Delta, where some prehistoric skulls have been found which are said to be of Galla type. It is therefore possible that king Kintu was either a descendant of one of those early Gallas who entered Egypt, or he may have been a member of the original migration who severed himself from the rest and settled in Uganda with his followers. They have not only left traces of their existence in stone implements and vessels, but they also appear to have formed the tribes which we call Nilotic, and most probably they gave kings to Uganda, Bunyoro, and Ankole.

Presuming the royalty of these kingdoms of Central Africa to be of Gallic origin, this would account for the similarity of customs, still followed in Uganda, with those of early Egypt. There are also some marks of similarity in primitive art, such as pottery and harps, though there is no record nor tradition of any relations with Egypt. We may also mention the similarity between the sacred obligation for Egyptians to marry their sisters and for the Uganda kings to take a sister as their queen; again they have in common embalming of the dead and the retaining of the umbilical cords. The similarity of the umbilical cord, so-called Twin, of the Baganda, bears a close resemblance to the royal standards of Egypt (see *Man*, vol. XI, No. II: Note upon Early Egyptian Standards, C. G. Seligman, M.D., Margaret A. Murray). Until quite recently it was customary for the king of Uganda to have his Twin, that is the stump of the umbilical cord, brought in solemn procession to him each month when the new moon was first visible, by an important

chief who ranked second to the prime minister, and whose duty it was to be guardian of the Twin and of royal fetishes.

But we must return to our study of the people and country, though we might go further in the comparison of Egyptian customs with those of the Baganda. There are members of clans who state that their forefathers were in the country before the arrival of king Kintu, and these clan members say that they held land in their own right, that it was freehold, and that each chief was independent of the others. They were gradually subjugated by the powerful conqueror king and amalgamated into the present nation. Chiefs responsible to the king were set to rule over large districts, and new chieftainships were created as the land was conquered. The old clan chiefs were still given a share in the affairs of the government, even though there were new chiefs; the old chiefs were allowed to choose members from their clans to fill offices connected with their freehold property, as they became vacant, and were responsible for the taxes on their estates. The only freehold lands were the clan burial grounds and they remained such until, through ignorance of the importance of the customs, the British Government abolished these grounds. Events have proved that it would have been beneficial for the country, had these freehold burial grounds been preserved, and the British Government would have been saved both trouble and expense by allowing the rights of the clans. Apart from the clan freehold burial grounds the king was the sole possessor of the land which he distributed to his chiefs to be held by them during his pleasure; he never sold or gave away land, and though a favourite might be given possession of an estate to be held during the king's life, still the latter retained such rights that at his death the estate reverted to the crown, and his successor began his reign in full possession of the kingdom. On the death of the king every chief, even the prime minister, went out of office, leaving the vacancies to be filled by the new sovereign. The old chiefs retained their titles, and were given small estates near the temple of the deceased king, who was never admitted to

have died, but to have entered upon a new existence. The duties of these former first grade chiefs were now connected with the temple of the late king, and they were under the direct control of the dowager queen, who removed her residence so as to be near the temple of her late brother and husband and to manage the temple services and the estate connected with the temple.

Though the king held entire possession of the land, he was most careful not to molest or unduly interfere with clan burial grounds. In each burial ground there was a temple for the clan god, with accommodation for priests and medium; the chief priest was invariably the head of the clan who also stood to the clan in the relation of father. It was the universal belief that the clan burial ground was the home of the ghosts of departed members, and that they remained there until they were reincarnated in the form of some child of the clan. These ghosts resented interference with the burial ground and especially with the bones of the dead, and this belief made the king hesitate to interfere with members of a clan, or to expel them from their freehold property. The office of chief of a clan was an influential position and carried many responsibilities with it, more especially that of keeping in touch with each member of the clan, seeing that he was treated fairly under all circumstances, and, when necessary, avenging the death of a member.

The nation has ever been proud of its royal family, and has been most careful when selecting a new king that no one but a prince should reign, and further that the prince chosen should be the son of a former king; princes, who were sons of a king's brother, were rejected as ineligible for the throne; princes who did not reign were called peasant princes. The number of children that a king had was great, and formerly the princes were a menace to the throne, because leading chiefs sought to have the upbringing of such princes, and frequently raised rebellions, seeking to depose the sovereign and to place his son whom they had brought up on the throne. Apart from such disloyalty chiefs were anxious to be trusted with

the care of a prince, for they realised how important they would be, should the prince under their care be selected to reign after his father; hence there was always a good deal of rivalry to secure a prince. It was to save the country from constant war that young princes, sons of the king's brothers, were excluded from the list of legitimate heirs to the throne. In more recent years the king's brothers were imprisoned and starved to death, after the proclamation of a king, by the new king's mother, with the object of removing all rivals and of avoiding future risings against the newly-crowned king.

No princess has been known to reign, though such ladies received great honour from all classes of men; even leading chiefs stooped low or knelt when about to speak to one of them; in all other cases women knelt when speaking to men, whereas chiefs stooped to a princess. During one of the recent civil wars when the king was expelled, and the princes were few in number, some Mohammedan Baganda became alarmed owing to statements made by the Arab traders; they feared that the so-called English party might appoint a queen to reign, as was the case at the time in England; they therefore captured as many princesses as could be found, shut them up in native huts, and burnt them to death.

With the exception of the princesses whom the king took to wife, princesses were not allowed to marry; but this restriction led to gross immorality among these ladies, because the princesses did not strive to set an example of virtue, but yielded to their worst passions and took men of all ages and ranks to be their paramours, even though they knew that they ran the risk of being put to death for their actions.

The licentiousness on the part of some princesses was one of the chief causes of the early spread of venereal disease. Princesses were the only women who enjoyed perfect liberty; there were no restrictions placed upon them, but they might go where they wished without asking anyone's permission, and in later years, when traders were admitted to Uganda, they made use of their freedom to visit Arab and Swahili

traders. These traders were in many instances men of gross passions, suffering from horrible diseases; they quickly discovered that they could secure the princesses to act as their wives during their stay in Uganda, and that such friendships were of value in enabling them to secure greater advantages in trade, and they therefore made presents of cotton goods and other trifles to these ladies; such presents were new and attractive, especially cheap mirrors. The result of these friendships and alliances was the contraction of disease, which was passed on by the princesses to their own countrymen whom they commandeered at times to satiate their lust. In all cases of illegal alliances princesses took care to have no children, because the penalty was death, though there were occasionally such births; if a child was expected, the mother would visit a friend and remain in some distant part of the country until the child was born. In some cases the child would be killed, but there were other mothers who would secure some foster mother for their child, and leave it to grow up without the king's knowledge. There can be no doubt that the object of this stringent law was to end the old and regular law of succession through the female line, when the sister's son inherited the throne, and not the king's son.

The practice of executing princes and princesses by burning, or by starvation, was introduced to overcome the old prohibition which made it a criminal offence to shed royal blood. It sometimes happened that during a rebellion a warrior would slay a prince who was fighting against the king; in such cases the king would praise the man at the time, and he would be rewarded for his deed, but after a few months he would be taken prisoner and executed for shedding royal blood, because the ghost was said to be causing trouble and to be calling for expiation. The only safety for a man who had slain a prince, was to flee the country and remain in exile. The practice of executing a man who had shed royal blood was due to the strong belief in the hostility of the injured ghost. Some calamity or sickness that occurred would be attributed by a priest to the ghost of a slain prince, and

the king would be told that he must execute the man who had been the perpetrator of the deed, before the disease could be arrested. Underlying the custom of burning people there appears to be the idea of annihilation for the ghost is supposed to be destroyed with the body, and all fear of further trouble from it ceases. Formerly when princes were allowed to remain alive after their brother was made king, it was incumbent on the monarch to be always prepared to repel any attempt made by one of his brothers to dethrone him and secure the throne. This custom not only saved the country from a feeble and decrepit king, but also made the king alert and warlike. In more recent years all princes were starved to death by the mother of a newly elected king, in order to save her son from rivals. With this object of saving her son from attacks, the king's mother was no sooner raised to her new position of power as queen mother than she captured all her husband's sons and had them taken to some secluded spot, where they were enclosed in a high stockade without food or water and guarded until they died from hunger or thirst. Several ruins of such places still exist, with the remains of the moat which surrounded the stockade, and inside may be found the bones of the dead princes. Though this custom safeguarded the king's life, it became to him an occasion for arrogance and idleness and led him into habits of debauchery and vice, to which he dared not have yielded, had he been called upon to guard his throne from rivals.

The wife of a king, who has been raised to the high dignity of queen mother, in her early years may have been only the daughter of some peasant, and during her husband's lifetime may not have been an honoured wife nor a woman of any especial ability. The fact of her son becoming king gave her a position of great honour, and her first public act was to safeguard the position of her son and thus through him make her own place secure.

There can be little doubt that in the early reigns of the kings the sovereign was expected to reign only so long as he enjoyed all his faculties, and when his powers began to

fail, he was expected to put an end to his life or to have it taken from him either by one of his brothers or by one of his wives. There is one instance recorded when a king who was ill is said to have been smothered by his wives. By instituting the custom of killing all princes eligible for the throne, the queen mother ensured her son's reign with peace and freedom from rebellion, though it deprived the people of the excitement of warfare which was dear to them.

The king lived upon a hill situated in the neighbourhood of the lake. The summit of the hill was levelled, and the most commanding site overlooking the country was chosen for the king's dwelling houses, court houses, and shrine for fetishes, and for the special reception room. Round these buildings on the lower slopes of the hill other houses were built; in front were huts for the guards and retainers, and the many houses for the wives, their maids and slaves, were built on the sides and at the back of the royal houses. The whole of the royal enclosure was divided up into small courtyards with groups of huts in them; each group was enclosed by a high fence and was under the supervision of some responsible wife. Wide paths between high fences connected each group of houses with the king's private enclosure. In the reign of the famous king Mutesa there were several thousand residents in the royal enclosure; he had five hundred wives, each of whom had her maids and female slaves; and in addition to the wives there were fully two hundred pages and hundreds of retainers and slaves. A high fence built of elephant grass surrounded the royal residence, so that it was impossible for an enemy with the ordinary primitive weapons to enter. At intervals round the outside of the enclosure guard houses were built; there were four or five entrances which were strongly guarded; both inside and outside were huts with soldiers always on duty, to prevent any person except the slaves and wives from entering. Again inside the enclosure near each of the gates were other guard houses with soldiers on duty, who had instructions as to what persons were to be admitted by the gate-keepers.

The main entrance in front of the royal residence was the only way by which the public were allowed to enter or leave the court. All the land between the royal residence and the lake was retained for the king's wives, and here they grew their plantains. It has always been customary for women to dig the fields and to grow plantains in Uganda, and even princesses were diligent workers in their plantain groves. Two or three private roads ran from the king's enclosure to the lake, approaching it at different points; on these roads no man, unless he had a special permit, might be found on pain of death; and along these roads the king could pass to the lake without the knowledge of his subjects, whenever he wished to take exercise or amusement. The private land was cultivated by the king's wives and their slaves; it enabled the king to pass to and from the lake without the knowledge of anyone except his own immediate followers, and it was regarded as a back door of safety, should the king need such. On the lake shore, at the inlet known as the king's landing place, there were several royal canoes kept ready for immediate use, and crews of paddlers were in attendance, in case they should be called upon in an emergency. If there was any rising in the capital, and a sudden attack was made upon the king before he had time to collect his army, he made his escape to an island of the lake, where he could gain time to make preparations to meet the foe.

The person of the king has ever been regarded as most sacred; he was never allowed to walk outside his own enclosure, but was carried on the shoulders of chosen men, and even these men were each supplied with a piece of bark-cloth to place over their heads and shoulders for the royal seat, lest their flesh should come in contact with that of the king. The shoulders of these men were sacrosanct, and no man, not even a friend, was allowed to place his hand upon them in a familiar manner; any breach of this rule was punished by a fine.

There was no standing army, though there were always a large number of retainers and followers about the royal



residence and many slaves, all of whom were ready to take up arms and protect their lord the king if necessary. Whenever an army was required, each district chief was expected to present himself before the king with a number of followers. The king in consultation with two or three leading chiefs decided how many soldiers each chief should supply for any punitive expedition. If a sudden demand was made for the protection of the king, each loyal chief took every man he could command at the moment.

In his later years king Mutesa kept a number of soldiers always on duty in the capital under the command of chiefs; these chiefs were given estates in each district in lieu of regular pay. The estates, or tracts of land, were intended to provide the troops with the necessities of life instead of money; currency was then unknown except in the form of cowry-shells, and these were limited in number. Each soldier chief was called a *Mutongole*, that is, a soldier chief; he was expected to supply a number of men according to his rank, to guard the royal residence and to act as a police force to the king for a set period each year; the time for service was arranged by rotation by the soldier chiefs and their leader. At times when there was a punitive expedition, the general was chosen from the ordinary chiefs or civil servants, and to him all men looked for orders, and the soldier chiefs of the regular army were under him.

It has been customary for some generations for kings to take for the army some portion of land, to call it by their own name, and to place over it one of their favourite soldier chiefs. The chiefs who govern these estates take as their official title the name of the king after whom the land is named, and the estates henceforth bear the king's name, thus there is found to-day the estate of the famous king Mutesa, called Kitesa, and that of his son Mwanga, called Kiwanga, and many other estates of older kings.

Men who became soldiers and gave evidence of soldierly qualities were raised to these military chieftainships from civil posts, but it was seldom that a man was promoted to

any civil office or transferred from a military chieftainship to a civil chieftainship. Chiefs and common people alike vied with each other to gain favour with their king; bravery in war, ability in managing estates, or skill in working iron or wood were noted by the king, and were causes for promotion and wealth, which came to the most successful and usually the most deserving. This fact doubtless tended to increase the alertness and the activity of the young men, and brought to the front those of the greatest ability. Another cause which doubtless made for national intelligence and physical soundness, was their religious system, which constantly demanded victims for religious purposes; so the physically feeble and mentally incapable people would be taken prisoners and put to death to propitiate gods or ghosts, leaving the clever and more shrewd subjects to propagate the nation.

Again, as there were no prisons, there were many difficulties in detaining offenders. So it became the custom to execute vicious persons rather than detain them in the stocks, which necessitated constant guarding, though it was the ordinary method of detaining accused persons. Vice was thus to a great extent kept down by combing out notoriously immoral people. Those who were left to propagate the nation were men of ability and of good character, able to restrain themselves from grossly evil living.

The government was monarchical, with many survivals of feudalism; the king was an autocratic ruler with power to appoint or to depose chiefs at will, though he seldom used this power without seeking the advice of his leading chiefs. When once a chief was appointed, he had great freedom in exercising his discretion in the district which he governed. The principal chief of a district could legally only use his authority over subchiefs in state affairs, such as road making, the building of royal houses, and the collection of taxes; in ordinary affairs a subchief was expected to manage his estates independently, being responsible to the king only. Thus a leading chief of a district could not force any of his subchiefs to build him a house for his private use, or a fence on his

private land; he had to rely upon his own immediate followers, his freemen, serfs, and household slaves for such work. As a rule a chief surrounded himself with men belonging to his own clan, who were responsible to him for their behaviour; to these he looked for assistance in times of war and for the carrying out of any private building or the performing of other duties. The wisdom of having men of his own clan around him was frequently proved by a chief; he was their near relative, and his interests were theirs, hence when the chief was accused by the king for any breach of order, they were always ready to set him free from the accusation, or to extricate him from any difficulty. They were, moreover, able to assist their chief in keeping secret any matters which might tell against him at court, and especially to keep from publicity any tokens of wealth or greatness likely to excite the cupidity of the king.

Each chief was a magistrate in his own district, but litigants had the right of appeal to a higher court if they were dissatisfied with a magistrate's decision. A freeman who wished might leave one chief and join another at will, and he would be sure of a welcome wherever he went; chiefs were always anxious to receive men into their employ as tenants on their estates, because the more men a chief had, the easier it became to fulfil his state duties without unduly taxing his followers. The amount of work allotted to a chief was in proportion to his official rank, not to the number of the retainers he had; hence the number of retainers was an important matter, and the labour of each man was increased or decreased by the number or paucity of his retainers. Taxes were paid in kind by tenants to their chief, who passed them on to the representatives of the king sent for the purpose; they were divided into herds of cattle, flocks of goats and sheep, bundles of bark-cloths, iron hoes, and cowry-shells. From these taxes paid to the king each chief received back a portion as his rent for the year; peasants further paid a rent for land to their over chief in pottery and labour, while smiths worked in iron for their chiefs, and supplied them with hoes, knives, and spears.

Besides his freedmen a chief had on his estate many retainers from his own clan, as we have already mentioned above, and in his enclosure many pages and also many domestic slaves of both sexes, some of the women becoming his concubines; all these followers who lived within the chief's enclosure were dependent upon his table. The slaves were obtained chiefly through raids upon neighbouring tribes, but some might have been purchased, or they might be the offspring of slaves who had married fellow slaves with their master's consent. Any woman slave who was married to a chief and had a child was no longer considered a slave, but was given her freedom. There was no formal declaration, but it was an understood rule. There was an interesting, though peculiar, custom followed by peasants, of placing a wife or a child in pawn, when they could not, or would not begin some particular work which a chief had ordered, and they were fined by the overseer for the delay. Such a person would give his child, or failing a child, his wife, to be held until he could pay the fine. The person in pawn could be redeemed at leisure by the owner; the wife or child did not appear to object to such treatment, but went willingly, and waited with the utmost patience for her redemption, whether it was a matter of a few days or of months. Sometimes they were not redeemed at all, but became nominal slaves.

A form of taxation which often caused a peasant trouble, was that of being required to pay a sum of money to the overseer or foreman, before he was allowed to begin the task allotted to him, especially state building or road making. A peasant would be set to do some work, and when he had been instructed as to the amount to be done, he would be told how many cowry-shells or bark-cloths and how many pots of beer he must bring to the overseer within a set time, before he would be allowed to commence his work. The amount was not great, indeed it seldom exceeded a few pence, but it might be impossible for the man to obtain the particular article in the given time, and as he was not permitted to start work until he had paid the sum, he was fined

for failure in his work. When the amount of the fine was settled, he was given a further time in which to obtain the whole amount, that is, the original amount plus the fine, and, unless he managed to pay, his fine was increased. The compound interest in such a case was ever increasing, and this made a man anxious to come to terms; so in despair a peasant would often borrow the necessary amount at an extravagant rate of interest, or again, in order to escape the fines, he would pawn his wife or child and then set to work. A diligent man would soon be able to raise the amount needed, and redeem his wife or child, whereas a slothful man would leave his wife in pawn for months; during her time of detention the woman would work for her new master in his fields and behave as though she were a slave.

The amount of taxation apportioned to each chief or sub-chief was fixed according to the number of tenants on each estate. The country was divided by the king and his prime minister into two or three parts, and men responsible for collecting the tax were sent to each part. Each tax-gatherer went with crowds of followers to the residence of some local chief to make that his headquarters; he assumed the title of king, he set about to learn the number of huts in a district, and in consultation with the leading chiefs he settled the amount of the tax per head. In addition to this tax the king made a further demand upon the boys and girls in the country to become pages at his court or maids waiting upon his wives. There was a vast amount of abuse and corruption exercised by the tax-gatherers; they extracted large sums over and above the amount which they carried to the king, and this was the reward for their services. The amount which the king paid them was trifling in comparison, and it was quite well known that they were enriching themselves. Men frequently ingratiated themselves with the king by gifts, in order to be appointed tax-collectors.

The polygamous habits of the people placed women at a premium, and wealthy people possessed many wives, whereas peasants found it difficult to obtain even their one wife,

owing to the large sum which they had to procure for the marriage fee. This fee was fixed by members of the woman's clan, who were anxious to obtain as much as possible for their relative; it was of changeable value, and as love seldom entered into a marriage contract, a woman was always proud to command a high price. Each man made an effort to marry, and to have children, because he thought that his happiness in the future world would depend upon the existence of children who would offer sacrifices to his ghost; the honour given him at his funeral also depended upon his children; if he had grandchildren at his funeral, the honour was considered to be all the greater.

At marriage a wife went to live among the clan of which her husband was a member; she could, however, visit her home on obtaining her husband's consent and on being provided with a suitable escort. If such a visit lasted more than one day, the husband was expected to take a present of a goat and a large pot of beer to his wife's family, before he could bring her home. At marriage a wife was given her own house and garden, and she was expected to dig the land, cultivate plantains and other kinds of vegetable food sufficient for the needs of the house; she had also to do all the cooking, carry water, supply fire-wood, and keep the inside of the house tidy. Thus the general comfort of a man largely depended upon marriage. A diligent wife would grow all the food that was necessary and would cook for her husband, whereas an idle wife would leave her husband short of food. If a woman failed in any one of these duties, she was considered an imperfect wife, and her failure would in all probability be the cause of friction and domestic trouble. The law of the land did not give a woman any help to obtain a divorce; but a man might put away his wife whenever he wished, he might also chastise or even kill her for a small fault; this was his right, for which he had paid the dowry. There could be no redress, in fact no members of the woman's clan would seek to obtain any redress; they might go so far as to call upon the husband to explain his conduct, and this he would readily do. If a wife

appealed to her clan because of unkind treatment, they would call for an explanation, and should it be proved that the woman had failed in some respect in her household duties, nothing more would be said.

On the other hand a man would be fined by his wife's clan if she died in childbirth; her death would in all probability be attributed to adultery, and this was regarded as due to negligence on the part of her husband, or failure to guard his wife and to protect her from other men.

If a wife found it impossible to please her husband, and was confident that she was in the right, she would escape from her home and go to some relative who she knew would take her part. The husband would, in such a case, be summoned to appear before a representative body of men belonging to the wife's clan, and, unless he could satisfactorily explain his conduct, he would be fined, and be called upon to give his wife a present and to promise to treat her better if she would return to him. But could he prove reasonable cause for his conduct, for example, negligence on her part in keeping the garden, or bad cooking, his wife had to promise amendment; the husband would then pay a pot of beer and a goat to the wife's relatives for her visit to them, and would take her away. There were however circumstances when a woman's relatives realised that she was suffering from her husband more than could be endured and decided to help her; they would therefore take the extreme measure of restoring the original marriage fee to the husband, and declare the woman to be free from the marriage tie. This was the only possible way in which a wife could secure a divorce from her husband: it required the co-operation of the witnesses who had acted at the time of the marriage, together with the leading members of her clan, to carry the matter through the civil courts, if the husband appealed against them. The woman, when freed from her husband, returned to her clan, where she might again be sought in marriage; any children born previous to the divorce belonged to the former husband. There were cases

when her relatives wished to help a wife, but the court decided against her, and they had to reluctantly send her back to her husband. If her unhappy condition continued, she sought opportunity to run away and hide with some friend, until all her husband's efforts to trace her should be abandoned, when she would be able to come out of close hiding, and live in seclusion in some remote part of the country where she would not be recognised.

Previous to the advent of the Arab trader with goods from civilised countries, the Baganda found they could live comfortably with the articles of food and clothing produced in their own country. But the Arabs aroused the desire for other products such as cotton goods, and they also created and then gratified the longing of the people for firearms, which they affirmed would place them in a superior position to their neighbours in military operations. The native spirit had for years been striving after more knowledge and power, and the superiority of the Arabs created a desire among the better class of people to imitate them, both as regards clothing and firearms; some people also adopted Mohammedanism and learned to read and write Swahili in Arabic characters. The common currency of cowry-shells had been in use for many years before the Arabs arrived; they had superseded beads, because only a limited number of the latter had reached the country from Egypt; ivory discs had also fallen into disuse after the introduction of glass beads. When larger sums of money were wanted than a load of cowry-shells, the amount was reckoned by cows; even slaves were purchased by the standard of the cow. Cowry-shells were carried from the east coast by native traders to the south shores of the lake, and worked their way round the lake along the western shore; these cowry-shells were pierced and threaded on plantain fibre string, a hundred on a string. For convenience in counting large numbers, ten strings were tied together, and ten thousand cowry-shells were called a load. The value of ivory increased when Arab traders entered the country and created the demand for it; before that time few people



troubled to acquire it, and the principal use to which it was put was the making of bracelets and anklets, that is after the use of ivory discs as money had ceased. Ivory was found to be of great value after the Arab advent, because it was a form in which riches could be buried and be safe in a country where there were no banks, and where the wealth, even of a powerful chief, might be the cause of much jealousy and the subject of flimsy, idle tales and reports taken to the king, who, when his cupidity was aroused, would plunder any rich man for his goods. Often a rich man had a false charge trumped up against him, which enabled the king to fine him, and in some instances a man would be condemned to death because of his wealth, which was then confiscated. For many years the use of ivory was one of the royal prerogatives, as also were lion and leopard skins. When any animal of either of these species was killed, the skin was taken to the king for his use. So it was with ivory; when an elephant was killed the tusks were taken to the king. Elephants were killed in former years only when they became troublesome and destructive to crops or other property. Natives tell stories of how elephants at times became bold and mischievous and during the night would come and lift a small hut by its pinnacle and deposit it in another spot, leaving the occupants shelterless and terrified.

When a regular trade with Arabs sprang up, tusks of ivory were secretly obtained by chiefs who, in view of the demand, kept professional hunters. Under the cover of night they had the ivory brought to the capital, and buried it either in their huts or in some marked place in their gardens, where it would remain until it could be passed on to an Arab trader; by this secret method chiefs avoided exciting the greed of the king and the jealousy of a superior chief. In early days no regular hunters were kept by chiefs, but only a few belonging to the king followed the chase; when, however, ivory became of market value, and a regular trade sprang up, certain peasants made hunting a profession, and found employment either in the service of the king among his hunters or in that of important chiefs. The ivory obtained

by the king and the chiefs was exchanged for cotton goods, firearms, and ammunition.

Calico and cotton goods soon began to take the place of the bark-cloth garment, which for many years had been the national dress and had supplanted the skins of wild and of domestic animals. Bark-cloth is the inner bark of a species of wild fig tree; every peasant was expected to plant a number of these trees in his garden, and in two years from the time of planting the trees, the man could strip off the bark for use. The mode of making the cloth was as follows: the tree trunk was stripped to a height of eight or ten feet according to the height at which the branches forked out; where the trunk was stripped, it was smeared with cowdung and wrapped round with plantain leaves, and a new bark soon formed which after ten or twelve months was ready to be used for bark-cloth. The third and fourth barks thus grown were of the finest quality, though the tree might yield eight or more barks. The bark which was removed was scraped in order to free it from superfluous sap, and was beaten on a log with a round wooden mallet which had grooves round it, until it was of about the thickness of strong brown paper. It was spread in the sun to dry, and the exposed side took a darker colour, brick red or terra-cotta, according to the quality of the bark-cloth. When bark-cloth became the national dress in the reign of King Semakulu, about a hundred years ago, he made a law that each peasant should plant a number of trees on his land, and that every man and woman should be clothed. Hitherto men and women had been careless about clothing, and it had been more common to go naked than to wear clothes; from that time, however, every nude person was fined, and people came to regard nudity a disgrace. The cost of bark-cloth lay in the labour of growing the trees, stripping them of their bark, and beating it out to the required thickness; this was, after all, trifling in a land where time is of little value.

Compared with other tribes in the neighbourhood of the great lakes, the progress made by the Baganda in civil, political, and social matters is remarkable; they are much

in advance of all tribes near them, or with whom they could, under the old tribal travelling restrictions, come in contact in the past. Custom forbade the use of stools or of chairs, and it was not until a small child was raised to the throne<sup>o</sup>, and had to be placed upon a raised seat in order to be seen, that the king sat upon a chair; previously kings had mounds of earth beaten hard with a smooth surface, upon which grass was laid, and over this a royal rug was spread, upon which the king reclined in sight of the people. With the introduction of the chair a new office of chair supporters arose among the pages of the king; two young men had to kneel behind the chair and hold it, lest it should topple over, or lest the king should fall from it. During any functions when the king sat in state these two men knelt, one on each side, holding the chair, and they retired when the king rose to leave the room. When the king used to sit on a rug, it was the duty of two of the greatest chiefs to sit at the corners of the mound and hold the rug on their knees, in order to prevent any man from brushing by it or from stepping over it. It was a capital offence for any passer-by to touch the king's rug, hence the office of sitting with it on the knees. When the king used a chair, the rug was spread beneath the chair, and the chiefs still retained their office of holding it on state occasions.

Chiefs and peasants sat on rugs or mats until quite recently, when the king gave permission for chairs and stools to be introduced into the court. For some years longer, though men used chairs and stools, women were forbidden to sit on any raised seat, but even that restriction has vanished since English ladies have entered the country. Alas! the beautiful bark-cloth dress of the women has also given place to tawdry blouses and skirts introduced by Indian traders, which have greatly spoilt the stately appearance of the women, and which hide the graceful carriage for which they were noted, in addition to taking away one of the most beautiful and picturesque dresses ever worn in the east by coloured women.

## CHAPTER VII

### KING MWANGA—CIVIL WARS—TEACHING THE KING

ENGLISH missionaries arrived in Uganda during the reign of the famous King Mutesa, in response to an appeal made by the great explorer Stanley in the daily papers, and they were welcomed to the court of Uganda. For a time they were the only Christian teachers, but later French missionaries were tempted to follow. These latter did not remain for many months in the country, but after a short stay retired, from what they considered an unfavourable situation, to their mission station at Bukoba, and here they remained until they deemed the country and people of Uganda ready and safer for their teaching. The Englishmen were left to bear the brunt of Arab and native opposition, and to prepare the way for Christianity. Previous to the arrival of the missionaries, the Arab traders had taught a few people to read Ki-swahili in Arabic characters. The Baganda have ever been anxious to learn, and the Arabs consented to teach a few of the king's pages to read and write. Before this no Muganda knew any system of transmitting his thoughts to writing or of making any permanent records, but sticks were used to represent subjects or messages, so as to aid a bearer's memory as to the number of subjects which he had to relate. Counting was well understood, and men could readily count into thousands, but they always spoke of ten thousand as a load, because it was the number of cowry-shells which a man could carry.

King Mutesa would not give the missionaries permission to go freely about the country to teach, but restricted them to a special locality; they were expected to visit the royal residence on stated days and to walk along one particular road to the royal enclosure. There a number of youths, with orders to learn to read and write, were presented to them.

Mutesa was a shrewd man who wished to keep everything within his own power and knowledge; hence only a few youths were granted permission to learn from the missionaries, lest there should be a number of men wiser than their king. There is a good story told of the acuteness of King Mutesa in dealing with an Arab trader who thought to make capital of the king's ignorance. The Arab had some choice beads which took the king's fancy, and he wished for more; the Arab on being questioned as to how beads were obtained, replied that they grew from seed, and further stated that he had a few seeds of the particular kind of beads by him. Mutesa asked the man if he could give a few lessons to some of his men if he purchased them, and if he would instruct them how to sow and attend to the cultivation of the beads; the Arab consented on the understanding that for his trouble he should be paid a high sum in ivory in addition to the payment for the seed. King Mutesa bought the beads and had his land prepared; the beads were duly sown under the Arab's supervision, who then thought his duties at an end, and asked for his pay and for permission to leave the country with his ivory. The king, however, gravely informed the man that he had appointed him to be superintendent of the field of beads, and that he required him to watch the crop until it was ready for harvest, when he would have to instruct the reapers and also superintend the threshing. For many years the Arab was kept a prisoner, waiting for the seeds to grow; his life was, however, spared, because it was said he would be a greater example to others, if he were sent away to the coast a poor man, after years of imprisonment, than if he were killed and forgotten.

When the missionaries arrived in Uganda, they were given a site to build upon, in the neighbourhood of the Arab and Swahili traders, in the district that was assigned to foreigners; they had permission to take exercise along one road only, and few people were permitted to visit them. Though they had been invited into the country as teachers, the king regarded them with considerable suspicion and jealousy,

and this was increased by the lying tales told him by the traders, who disliked the presence of the English, because they knew that their slave trade was doomed, and that they would be compelled to deal more honestly in all their trading transactions. Mutesa had been under the impression that he was the greatest monarch on earth, until Stanley had told him about Queen Victoria; and the missionaries unwittingly added to the king's jealousy by enlarging upon the theme of her Majesty's greatness, and they also emphasised the extent of her kingdom, which it is needless to say the king did not believe. Until Europeans made their appearance in Uganda, both Arab and Swahili traders had striven to impress Mutesa with the greatness of his own kingdom and power, in the hope of getting presents from him by this flattery and of obtaining better terms in their bargains. Mutesa soon realised the hostility between the Arabs and the missionaries, and began to play off one against the other; in religious matters especially he delighted to pit one against the other, and enjoyed hearing their arguments. He soon discovered that the English were far more clever than the Arabs, and he also found that he could extort large sums from them in the form of cotton goods on the most trivial grounds. The missionaries had brought large stores of things such as Mutesa wanted, and they could be made to part with them when they wished to build a house, or when they wanted to teach a few boys, or again when they wished to go to the lake for stores or letters. He quickly learnt to make demands upon their generosity for all kinds of purposes.

Frequent interviews were granted to the missionaries by the king when he wished to extort goods; he also professed to be impressed by their religion whenever he desired presents from them. The patience and persistence of these men in carrying on their religious work is beyond praise; their diligence in teaching youths under the most trying circumstances remains on record as an example to be followed by missionaries of all times. They never spared themselves

by day or by night if there was an opportunity to teach, and they won their way into the affections of the youths who attended the mission, to such an extent that it is not to be wondered at that men who are now growing old still talk in the highest terms of praise of their early teachers, especially Mackay and Ashe, nor that they have their children named after them in baptism.

When Mwanga, Mutesa's son, came to the throne, there were many youths under instruction at the English mission. This alarmed the Lubare priests, who therefore brought pressure to bear upon the new king to prohibit people from visiting the missionaries. When it was found that numbers of young people continued to attend the mission, more stringent orders were issued to capture and execute those who either attended instruction or who could read. Many youths who escaped detection, continued to visit the missionaries by night, because they could not go by day. The missionaries had to work by night when the country was slumbering, and to rest by day. In this manner numbers of boys were taught by the two missionaries mentioned above, and later by Gordon and Walker, the two missionaries who followed them when Mackay and Ashe left the country under the cloud of persecution. These were the men who laid the foundation of what has proved to be the most wonderful mission of modern days.

It was difficult for a man even of Mutesa's qualities to realise that missionaries had no ulterior motives, and that men should give time and pay money to be permitted to teach was to him inexplicable; he had his own Lubare priests and gods, and he knew by experience that it was the custom of priests never to work without pay. Arabs also worked upon the king's credulity so as to make him distrust these Englishmen, saying that the missionaries wanted the country, and that they were the forerunners of an army of white people who would come to seize his kingdom. Thus they strove to poison the mind of Mutesa and to make him look with suspicion upon his guests and question their

motives. With Mwanga they were still more successful and they effected a rising of Lubare priests against the followers of Christianity. The most favourably disposed Muganda in those early days believed that the Englishmen came to Uganda in order to obtain plantains for food, because the fruit did not grow in England.

Punitive expeditions and warfare have always been the most loved occupation of the Muganda; they were like the breath of life to him, indeed he was born to fight; his birth was dated from some war when the king was fighting against some adjacent tribe, and his death was marked in a similar fashion. He was happy when there was civil war; and sorry when the custom arose of putting princes to death at the accession of a new king, and thus ending the numerous civil wars, so far as struggles for the throne on the part of rival princes were concerned. By the loss of princes who might head rebellions, the lower orders were deprived of a great amount of excitement, for secret plottings no longer took place, and the nation was reduced to wars against surrounding tribes. Accordingly to be able to pit English against Arabs afforded constant pleasure. The amusement that King Mutesa and his chiefs derived from the differences between the Arabs and the English was immense, and they looked forward to their disputes with considerable relish. Indeed these encounters afforded pleasure to all classes, though the religious contentions carried little weight of conviction to the majority of the hearers. It will be readily understood that at a later time the excitement caused by the arrest and execution of Christians roused the morbid curiosity of such a bloodthirsty set of pagans.

When King Mutesa died in 1884, and the wise control which he had exercised over the country ended, the Arabs made a vigorous attempt to obtain ascendancy over the English. They worked upon the feelings of the old people who were devoted to their Lubare worship, and these in turn worked upon the weakness of the young king. Mwanga, who had some knowledge of the Christian faith, was a weak youth.



He had often been to the mission house as a scholar, he knew much of what was done there, and how diligently the missionaries taught each boy; but he lacked the moral strength of his father to follow his convictions in the face of opposition. When, therefore, the priests began to warn him that his country would be ruined if he permitted this new teaching to continue, and the Arabs told him false stories about the purpose of the missionaries, he became alarmed, and promised to try to stop young men from visiting the mission house. He was not like his father, who fearlessly in defiance of the Lubare priests broke away from customs of his forefathers, and who was feared to so great an extent that his commands concerning his funeral rites were obeyed. His body was buried with the jawbone attached, and he was not deified, as had been the earlier kings. This breach of custom alarmed the people and the priests, and the latter determined to make a struggle to reinstate their dishonoured gods; accordingly they attributed all kinds of sickness and misfortune, which occurred at the time, to the wrath of the dishonoured gods, and at length they succeeded in making Mwanga afraid. Under the instigation of these priests, systematic persecution commenced in which hundreds of Readers, as the Christians were called, were captured and put to death. Though Mwanga yielded in this matter to the wishes of the Arabs and the Lubare factions, he had not a friend among them, for each party distrusted him. The Christians had no faith in him because of the persecutions which he had sanctioned, and also because he wished to stem the tide of progress and reform; the Islamic party would not trust him, because he would not submit to the outward professions of their faith and be circumcised; and the heathen section distrusted him, because they knew he was not a believer in the old Lubare system. Thus Mwanga stood alone, and he realised his precarious position and was continually making bids for friends and followers. Instead of becoming a sincere follower of one party or the other, he sought to play off one against the other, until all alike rejected him. He retained

his throne only because of the difficulty which the people had in finding a substitute, owing to the Baganda rigid belief that the king must be a prince of the blood royal, whose father had reigned before him.

The Arabs waited until they saw an opportunity to act with decision; meanwhile they won the favour of two young princes, brothers of Mwanga. One of these they then put forward as king, telling their followers that he was a superior man and therefore qualified to reign. They secured a large following of people anxious for reform, and even many of the Christians followed them, after being promised religious toleration. A rebellion was thereupon raised, and Mwanga was expelled and fled to the lake, where he went by canoe to one of the Roman Catholic stations in Bukoba. There he remained until some months later, when he was recalled by the Christian community, who soon learnt how they had been deceived by the Islamic party. After helping to dethrone Mwanga in the hope of obtaining religious freedom, they had been persecuted far more than before.

In the meantime the Arabs showed their intention to make Uganda a Mohammedan country by trying to induce Kiwewa, the new king, to submit to the rite of circumcision. When he steadily refused to become a full member of the faith, he was deposed, and his brother Kalema was raised to the throne. Kiwewa, after his brother had undergone the rites of the Islamic faith, was burnt to death in the house in which he had been imprisoned. This was done lest he should escape, and secure a following, and fight to regain his throne. The Islamic party soon proved itself to be intolerant towards the Christian party; promises solemnly given were ruthlessly broken, and the Christians were again severely persecuted. Thereupon they fled the country, some crossing the lake to Busambiro in the south and joining their friend the famous missionary Mackay, who had been allowed to leave Uganda, in order to build a steamer and was then engaged on this work; others going into Ankole to the west of Uganda, others again to Busoga in the north, while the rest fled to Bunyoro—

anywhere to escape from the Islamic persecution. The disturbed state of the country prevented people from carrying on any systematic cultivation of the land; according to custom it was illegal for any person to follow his ordinary agricultural duties, while the country was unsettled. The term Mirembe, which is applied to a country during the reign of a king, signifies the peace which the country enjoys while there is a settled government, and is the opposite of anarchy and robbery, which arise when a king dies or flees his country. Any person who attempted to cultivate the land or to trade during such a time of unsettlement would have been put to death for so doing. Hence the country ran wild, and famine appeared. The Islamic leaders soon attacked the heathen; the Lubare priests had to flee or were killed by these zealots; every temple which they found was destroyed, and all the sacred objects they could lay their hands upon were burnt.

Another fear now seized the Islamic party and brought about a new phase of persecution in Uganda which was contrary to all the old customs. It was said that princesses were dangerous and might become aspirants to the throne. The Arabs told their party that in England a woman ruled, and that the Christians would undoubtedly make a princess the ruler, and so they urged them to kill all the princesses. In consequence every princess who could be found was either shut up in a large stockade and starved, or was shut up in her house and burnt to death; only a few of the hundreds of princesses who were in the country when the sentence was put into force had time to escape.

Kalema, the new king, redistributed the land among his followers, appointing new chiefs to rule the districts. The people who remained in the country were now under a million in number; for a few months a Mohammedan king was the nominal sovereign, while the country was really ruled by Arabs and by Swahili traders.

While these events were happening in Uganda, the scattered Christians entered into communication with the

exiled king Mwanga, who was still with the Roman Catholics in Bukoba. He promised to give religious freedom in the future, if they would assist him and enable him to regain his throne. In view of these promises the Christians agreed to support Mwanga, so active preparations were made, the scattered men were called together, and Mwanga with his following prepared to enter Uganda and fight for the throne. The Islamic party were attacked on the lake shore some distance from Mengo, the capital, and after several battles they were driven back, and Mwanga was enabled to land and to return to his old capital. From there he drove the Mohammedans to the north-west towards the Bunyoro confines, where they settled. From this time onwards the banished party were known in Uganda as the Baislamu. The country again became moderately quiet, and life was tolerably safe; new chiefs were appointed as governors of districts, and everything pointed to a prolonged period of peace. Hundreds of people had died, either from famine or from plague following upon famine, during these civil wars, so that, though most of the fugitives had returned to their homes, the population can have been but little more than a million and a half. Mwanga, when still at Bukoba, had given the most strongly worded assurances of religious liberty; he was, however, still under the influence of the Roman Catholic priests, who thought that the country was leaning too much to the English, and who therefore urged King Mwanga and their converts to inaugurate a new policy, which would give many advantages to Roman Catholics. This caused dissatisfaction, and sides were taken, in which one party called themselves Bafransa, that is French, and the other Bangareza, that is English. This new trouble has often been described as a religious war between two Christian parties, but the actual facts show such a description to be erroneous. There was no distinctive doctrinal teaching given at the English mission, and those who were anxious to learn would go sometimes to one and sometimes to the other mission, without knowing that there was any difference between the religious bodies. Further,

when the parties were formed, it was found that there were baptised Protestants among the French adherents who joined because of their desire to belong to the king's party. By conviction these men were well disposed to the English, and it was only because the French party had the king among them, that they followed the latter. The whole rising was political, and not religious; the question of a creed was with the people a secondary consideration. For some months there were no open hostilities, but later on, owing to political questions chiefly concerned with land, the differences began to assume rather dangerous dimensions. It was during these unsettled times that I made my way into Uganda itself, having for some years been resident in what was afterwards known as German East Africa, and found King Mwanga playing a false game with the English party. The main difficulty arose from the action of the king, who at the desire of his people had sent a party of chiefs to the coast, and had invited the representatives of the Imperial British East Africa Company to come to Uganda to help him to drive out the Islamic party, and then to stay and assist him in governing the country. Members of the I.B.E.A. Co. had arrived with a number of Swahili troops under the leadership of two or three officers of the Company. King Mwanga had assured these gentlemen before they entered the country of his wish that they should stay and had agreed to sign a treaty to hand the country over to the British. The French priests, however, did not want the country to become English, and induced their party and the king to make a secret treaty with Germany represented by Dr Peters.

After some months of unsettled government the two parties became more hostile; daily acts causing much irritation were committed by members of first one party and then the other, and there were constant misunderstandings. At length matters came to a head by a murder committed in the capital; a man passing along a road to visit his master was shot dead by someone hidden in the enclosure of a leading chief of the French party. When this

chief was requested by the British representative of the I.B.E.A. Co. to surrender the culprit, that he might be tried, he firmly refused, and the French party armed themselves to resist any attempt to seize the murderer. Sembera Mackay, one of the most trusted native Protestant Christians, by birth a Musoga, was asked to visit King Mwanga, and to try and make peace by persuading the king to order the chief to give up the culprit. It was thought by the leaders of the English party that the nationality of Sembera Mackay would induce the French party to enter more readily into negotiations. Sembera was, however, cruelly shot down when on his errand of peace, as he was passing the residence of a French chief. This additional murder, unprovoked as it was, irritated the English party intensely, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the chiefs restrained their men from attacking the French party. The European Resident was indefatigable in his exertions to keep the peace, and he even risked his life by passing through hostile groups of armed men to interview Mwanga, endeavouring to secure his intervention and thus bring the murderers to justice. It was in vain; the French party were determined to prosecute their plans and secure their end by force of arms, and war broke out again, this time between the two Christian parties. The officers of the I.B.E.A. Co. considered the English party to be in the right and joined forces with them, and after a sharp battle the French party was driven from the capital; Mwanga fled by lake to southern Budu, where he was joined by his army.

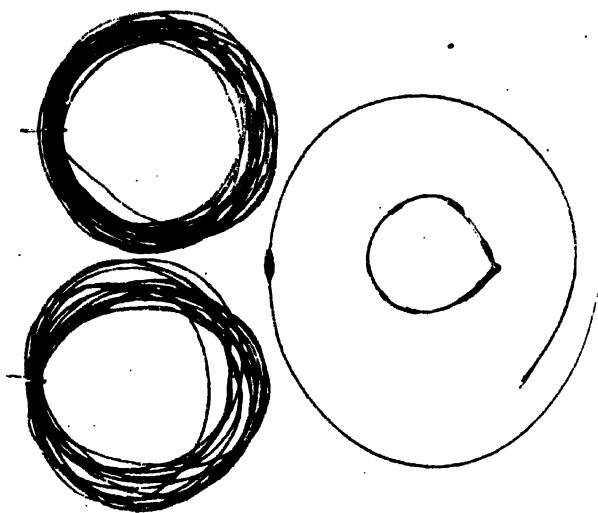
This first battle took place on a Sunday, and instead of conducting our regular services, we missionaries had to go to the British fort, and to remain there all day, ministering to the wounded. We were allowed to return to our houses the same night, because the enemy had been driven from the capital; but for weeks we never felt safe by night, because of hostile natives, who went about after sunset setting fire to houses. Three English missionaries had a narrow escape from the enemy; they were in Budu, ignorant of the events in the capital, and the defeated French party were making their way

to them, when news reached them of what was happening, and they had to flee from the mission station, leaving everything behind. The chief of the district, Nikodemu Sebwato, whose title was Pokino, assisted them in their flight and conducted them by a circuitous route to the capital; he also supplied them daily with native food and attended to their comfort at each resting place.

For most of us who lived in the capital it was a time of short rations. The fresh supplies of English stores, which we were expecting were delayed, and this disturbance increased our difficulty in getting them. Among the goods which had to be abandoned, when the missionaries fled from Budu, was a bicycle. The Rev. R. P. Ashe had brought out a machine to see whether it would be of service in his missionary work; it was the first bicycle which the natives had seen, and their delight in watching Ashe ride was intense. When the mission was looted by the French party, some of the young men carried off the bicycle in triumph, thinking that they could ride it at once. One after another tried and failed; at length, in anger, they brought out hatchets and hacked it to pieces. Some months afterwards, when peace was restored, we made inquiries about the bicycle and were told of its fate, the narrator adding the words: "We cut it up, because it knocked down every man who tried to ride it."

\* As stated above, we were short of provisions. There was no butcher's meat to be obtained in the markets, for they were all closed; and, as we had run out of English provisions, we had to live upon a vegetable diet of mashed plantains with boiled wild tomatoes as a sauce; even salt could not be procured. Fortunately the health of our party was good during the weeks when we could not obtain supplies; and later, when the market opened, and we were able to get fresh meat, it was an immense relief to add this to the previous monotonous diet of unseasoned vegetables. At the beginning of the hostilities most of the peasants had killed their domestic animals and eaten them, because, they said, the possession

ELEPHANT HAIR NECKLETS AS WORN BY  
COW-KEEPING PEOPLE



WAIST BAND AND NECKLETS OF UGANDA GIRLS

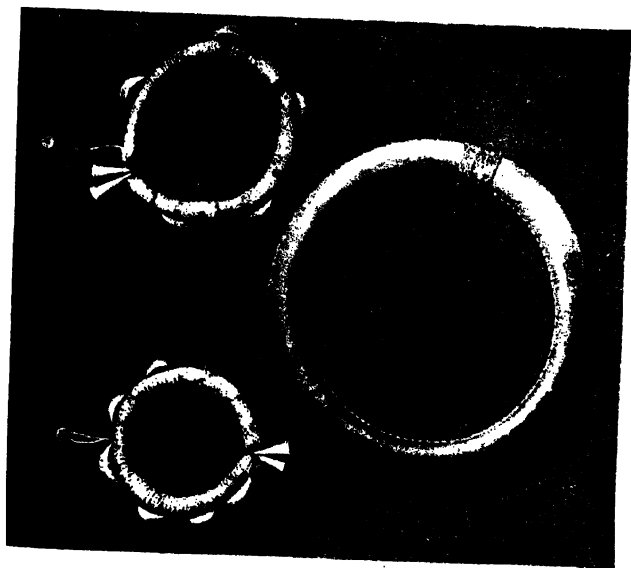




PLATE IX



NATIVES OF MT. ELGON



LADY EMBARKING IN HER CANOE



DISEMBARKING FROM CANOES ON LAKE VICTORIA

of such wealth involved risks. Besides obtaining the luxury of meat, we were supplied by a chief with fresh milk, which more than compensated us for the lack of English food, such as biscuits, tea, and sugar; bread was an unknown luxury at that period in Uganda. About this time the Representative of the I.B.E.A. Co. brought some troops belonging to Emin Pasha into Uganda; they had been left near Lake Albert, when Stanley took Emin to the coast, and they seemed to be exactly the force which the country needed, to enable the British officers to make a stand against the native forces and to put down wrong doing and establish justice. We now know that it was a mistake to introduce these Sudanese troops; for later on they caused greater trouble and more deaths of British and of loyal Baganda than all the previous Uganda risings. These Sudanese troops were the offscouring of Gordon's troops in Khartoum, and had been found so unreliable, that they were sent into the interior, in order to be out of the way, and to be brought under discipline. For a time after entering Uganda they were happy with their new surroundings, but after a few years they broke into rebellion and gave endless trouble.

In the year 1891 King Mwanga revolted against the British authority and fled to the south of Budu, where he remained for some months, fearing that he might be imprisoned or punished for his foolish conduct during the recent war. It took weeks before the British official could induce him to return to his capital. During his stay in southern Budu he had, with the assistance of the French priests, taken possession of the private stores of several missionaries at the German station of Bukoba. These stores had been left behind by Mr Ashe, when he was coming into Uganda before the outbreak of the French and English war, and the principal articles were books and English provisions; the books were burned, the scientific instruments were destroyed, and the provisions were used. Some days after Mwanga's return to the capital Mr Ashe accompanied me to

call on the king, as I had not been able to make his acquaintance before he fled; finding that he spoke Swahili fluently, I dismissed the interpreter, and we talked together. This gave me an opportunity for plain speaking, and I tried to make him realise the wrong he had done in taking our stores. Mwanga confessed that he had used the stores, and he was accordingly told how dishonourable he had been. Mr Ashe, who spoke Swahili less fluently, supposed that Mwanga was being plainly told of his misdeeds, and he feared the wisdom of such candour, for he remembered the old times when the king had unrestrained power, and would probably have put any man to death who opposed him or who told him unpleasant truths. He was therefore rather anxious, and said to me: "In the olden times the king would have executed you for what you have said." Mwanga, however, took the rebuke in a good spirit, and he put out a limp hand, saying: "You are my friend; you are the first white man who has spoken so freely to me and told me what he thinks of me." This straightforward conversation was the means of bringing about a good understanding between us, and it formed a link of friendship which lasted until Mwanga died.

Some months later Mwanga became displeased with the French Fathers. He saw that his country was settling down quietly under the increasing influence of the British Government; so he asked to be taught to read the Bible. The task of teaching him fell to me, and two evenings of each week were devoted to reading and to the study of the New Testament, which he seemed to enjoy. He soon became most friendly with me, and even confidential, and he talked to me freely about his past life and all that he had done during his wanderings in Budu. He would sometimes talk about his early years, and say that he had sanctioned the execution of young people who were Christians; he always added that this was due to the influence of the Lubare priests. He did not like to speak about Bishop Hannington's murder; that was a subject he always sought to avoid. There were times when he seemed on the verge of becoming

a sincere Christian, but he feared to take a step which would bring him into direct conflict with some of his worst passions. So far as it was possible to gather from scraps of information gleaned from these conversations, he was sorry for the part he had taken in the persecutions and especially for the murder of Hannington. Fear of the Lubare priests and dread lest he should lose his country had caused him to consent to the executions. The Lubare priests had reminded him of an old tradition that the conquerors of his country would approach through Kavirondo and Busoga by a way which they termed the "back door"; his superstitious fears had been roused, and he had yielded to the wishes of his advisers.

As a pupil Mwanga was quick and intelligent, he had a retentive memory, and he soon read fluently and also took a deep interest in the New Testament, which we read through at least twice. His knowledge of his country was remarkable; from descriptions which he had obtained from his subjects he could give detailed accounts, and often describe the physical features of some locality so accurately that it was difficult to believe that he had not been there. When free from the effects of vice, especially from the effects of Indian hemp smoking, he was amusing, having a fund of stories, and enjoying a joke. At one time he was a regular attendant at the Sunday morning service in the cathedral, and he was also present at the funeral service, when the remains of Hannington were buried on Namirembe Hill near by the cathedral. Much of Mwanga's so-called bloodthirsty nature was doubtless due to Indian hemp smoking; this vice to which he had become addicted shattered his nerves. The drug had an injurious effect upon him, his moral character was undermined, and he yielded to the worst passions of nature, while his powers of self-restraint were weakened.

There was, however, much good feeling and even tenderness in his character when he could be kept from his bad habits and was free from evil influences. Whenever he

fell into habits of vice, he would give way to terrible passions, being unable to restrain his lusts towards his page boys. Afterwards he would suffer torture mentally and physically, and be more like an irresponsible person than a sane man. He struggled feebly against these passions, and was always most grateful for any help or sympathy. It was during one of these falls at a time when I was absent from the country, that he fled from Mengo his capital, and revolted against the British. This cost him his throne, for he was captured while still in open revolt, and was deported to Seychelles, where he died. After his capture it was pathetic to hear him say sadly: "Ah, Roscoe, if only you had been there, I should not have revolted, but someone told me that I was going to be imprisoned." His yielding to evil influences and his foolish actions showed how unfit he was for the high office of a king.

There are some amusing incidents which remain fixed in my memory in connection with Mwanga and these it may be permissible to record, as they show something of native character, and also give an idea of the manner in which the kings travelled and of the etiquette of the country; they also show how overbearing the pages were towards ordinary people when the king was travelling. On one occasion Mwanga was disposed to give me a cow and calf; so he sent a splendid animal which was a favourite with his herdsman. When the chief herdsman learnt what had happened, he went to the king, and begged him to ask for the return of the cow and to send another in its place. The cow had already reached me and had been sent to the kraal near by, when a messenger came, saying there had been a mistake, and asking that the animal might be returned. I replied that it was quite satisfactory, and that I had thanked the king for it, so that there need be no further trouble. After a short time another messenger came, saying that two cows with their calves would be given me, if this particular cow were returned. A polite refusal was sent with assurances that I was satisfied, and that the king need not trouble to

exchange the cow. Later on came a third messenger, saying that the king would give me a woman slave, if the cow were returned. The answer to this proposal was: "The Englishman has no use for slave women and disapproves of slavery." Finally two slave women were offered, but in vain; the cow remained and proved to be an excellent animal which lived to see its great grandchildren.

Another amusing incident was occasioned by a visit from the king to take afternoon tea. In those days English provisions were scarce, for they could only be obtained by the caravans sent up each year, and the cost of carriage made them great luxuries; and in this case there was the fact to be remembered that the stores were low, and that it would take months to have a fresh order executed and goods sent out. Former experience had taught how uninteresting food can be when it consists of mashed plantains only, and this experience counselled care. At this period there was no bread in the country and even ship's biscuits were a luxury; still when a king proposes to pay a visit, it is right that he should have the best placed before him. When Mwanga proposed coming to tea, we, that is my companion, Mr Millar, and I, had but two tins of Osborne biscuits; we had to manage with these until other stores could arrive, and there was no news of these having been despatched from the coast. Only men who have been reduced to native food can tell how delightful it is to sit down in the afternoon and enjoy tea with cow's milk and a cabin biscuit or, as an extra treat, an Osborne biscuit added; it changes the monotony from goat mutton with mashed plantain three times each day. Salt was a luxury, and not a grain was allowed to remain on the plate after a meal; it was carefully restored to a bottle for future use and stoppered to keep out any damp; a bottle weighing two pounds was worth any sum from ten to twenty shillings. As for jam, sugar, preserved fruits, and such like goods, they were only produced to tempt the appetite of a patient recovering from fever or from some tropical complaint.

To return from this digression to Mwanga's visit: the king duly came with his retinue on that ever to be remembered afternoon, and sat at the table with Mr Millar and myself. In those days no person of note could move even to visit his friend without a following of from forty to a hundred men, and the king's followers always numbered hundreds. Before his Majesty arrived, a number of pages were sent according to etiquette to announce his coming. These youths came one after the other in quick succession; the first was despatched when the king left the royal enclosure, and as soon as he was well off, a second was sent, and so on, boys being sent every few yards. They ran to my house and then returned to their master, thus keeping up a stream of youths running backwards and forwards until the king reached the house. When the first messenger reached me, he knelt down and said: "The king has sent me to ask how you are; he is on the way"; to which the reply was: "I am well, how is he? go and tell him I am well and waiting for him"; this had to be repeated as each page came. The fashion at the time was to wear white cotton knee-breeches, with a sheet of calico three yards square tied by two ends round the neck and the other two corners round the waist and loose in the middle. This white flowing garment filled with wind as the pages ran, and looked most imposing, like a white balloon, adding to the glory of the procession which came along at a good pace, the king sitting upon the shoulders of one of his bearers, with attendants upon each side; while peasants and other folk made way for the royal party, some kneeling by the road side to greet the king as he passed, others running into gardens or down side roads for fear of being roughly handled by the guard, and flutes were played in front by some of the pages, making marching music for the procession.

It was a custom, when the king went either to visit in the neighbourhood, or on longer journeys into more remote parts of his kingdom, for his followers, especially the page boys, to rob and plunder wherever they went; houses,

gardens, herds of goats and sheep, all they could lay their hands upon, were appropriated, and if any pedestrian tried to pass them in the road, he was roughly handled, and at times maimed or even killed for not giving place to the royal procession.

The flutes and drums announced to us the approach of the king, and he was carried on the shoulders of a strong man to a mat near the door; then his bearer kneeled down, and the king stepped on the mat and, walking into the room, took his seat at the table after shaking hands. Tea was at once brought in, and one of the two precious tins of biscuits was placed on the table; at that time we did not possess any more tea ware than was needed for use, and that was all enamel ware. The king tried a biscuit and approving helped himself to several more. In the meantime as many of his more select followers as could do so, had crowded into the room and were sitting on the floor in every available place. The king next asked: "Who made these biscuits?" When told "Messrs Huntley and Palmer," he replied: "They shall be my bakers in the future," and with that he began to dole out the biscuits to his favourite followers, in order that they might verify his remarks as to their good quality. We two missionaries looked on with anxious eyes, as our precious store was thus demolished, but respect for the royal guest kept us from making any remark. When tea ended, there remained less than half a tin of biscuits. Mwanga talked freely and pleasantly for fully an hour and then rose to go, and as he did so, he took the tin of biscuits, put the lid on it, and handed it to one of the pages, saying: "Take this home for me." So ended the first royal visit which I received from Mwanga, and with it ended one of the two tins of biscuits.

The next story is told in order to warn young people against rashly accusing natives of wrong-doing even in jest; it also shows how readily men accepted a poison trial in olden times. It has no bearing upon the king, but illustrates the character of cowmen, who in the early days of the mission were said to be inseparable from their cows.



It was commonly said by the natives that cowmen were the greatest thieves in the country. There was also a proverb to the effect that 'nothing but death would deprive a cowman of his cows. There was a time when such a remark might have been justified, especially if it referred to cows belonging to either an Englishman or a Muganda. Cowmen were certainly adepts in stealing cows.

One morning after lectures in the theological school were ended, I was engaged in opening a box containing drugs which had just arrived from England, and my companion, Mr Millar, was fitting up a battery which had been sent to help to cure him from an attack of facial paralysis. As we were thus busy, a cowman, the servant of a friend who had gone to England, walked into the room and squatted down looking on. Jokingly I said: "Well, you old scamp, how many cows have you stolen since your master left for England?" The man protested that he would not steal a single cow; for what would his master do for milk on his return, if he took them, and so forth. I still professed doubt of such honesty, when the man suddenly turned the tables on me, and asked what there was in the bottle which I held in my hand. I told him poisonous medicine, to which he replied: "Give me a little, and I will swallow it to prove my innocency." Of course I was obliged to refuse, whereupon the man said: "You accuse me of dishonesty, and deny me the means of proving my innocency, so I will ask the prime minister to help me." I was in a dilemma; I durst not give the drug, because it would certainly have killed the man, and I did not like to be thus put in the wrong; fortunately a happy thought struck me, and turning to Millar, I asked whether his battery was ready for use. Receiving a favourable reply, I said: "Then let this cowman try it"; and turning to the man, I said: "If you can hold these two handles without shouting you are innocent, but if you shout or call out, you are guilty." He consented and seized the handles with great readiness. Millar put on cell after cell, as he saw the man could bear it, until his face changed

colour, and his hands began to shake, and presently he twisted them up against his chest with a shout and cried: "I have the cows; let me go, and I will bring them." The battery was stopped, and the man not only confessed his guilt, but produced two cows and two calves which he had stolen.

## CHAPTER VIII

### DEATH OF THE MOHAMMEDAN PRINCE KALEMA—RE- TURN OF THE ISLAMIC BAGANDA TO THEIR COUNTRY— SUDANESE REBELLION—LOYAL BAGANDA— REDISTRIBUTION OF LAND

**D**URING the first year of Mwanga's reign, after his return from southern Budu, news came to the capital from the southern district of Bunyoro, announcing the death of Kalema who had been the Mohammedan king. It was to southern Bunyoro that the Islamic party fled when they were defeated in Mengo; there they settled and formed a small colony; and from this district they made occasional raids upon their brethren in the more isolated districts in Uganda, to plunder, and to enslave any one whom they captured.

The British officer representing the I.B.E.A. Co. sent to the Islamic Baganda, inviting them to return to their own land when Kalema died, and promising them estates to settle upon, and safety, if they would for their part be loyal to King Mwanga and his chiefs. The chiefs in Uganda with Mwanga had given their approval to this message. The offer was accepted, and in due course the Islamic party returned and settled in two small districts which were given them; at the same time the French party, which were settled in Budu under their old leader Mugwanya, were granted an extension of country and special laws, which made them responsible to the king, but otherwise free from the governing body in Mengo. The country thus again at peace became prosperous; the old markets which had been deserted for months were again opened by people who brought their wares for sale, and it was possible to buy meat and fish, with other native products suitable to supply the daily need, in addition to many useful articles and wares, such as agricultural implements and household pots. Land that had fallen into disuse

was reoccupied, and plantain groves which had become wild and overgrown with creepers were recovered and soon began to bear fruit, while food became daily more plentiful.

With this prosperity, and the assurance that the British officers would stand by those who remained loyal and kept the laws, chiefs felt it safe to return to their country estates; their peasants began to build new huts, and peasant women began to work their fields, and all seemed to promise a period of happiness. Roads that had fallen into disuse and become overgrown during years of war were reopened, and people were to be found traversing them, going to the capital from their homes in the country, as in olden times, carrying food, either for sale, or for their chief's use, in accordance with the old feudal system. There was, however, a difference in the populations that reoccupied the districts, because many people who by birth belonged to particular districts, and who had never left their old surroundings before the war, were now living in new places under the altered conditions; there were those from Budu who had fled with their former chiefs and were now in Kyagwe, while those from Kyagwe had gone into Budu with their chiefs belonging to the French party. Many of these older inhabitants never really settled down in their new homes, and it was known that they would return to their old localities, as soon as they felt they could do so with safety.

It was when there seemed to be every prospect of continued peace that word came to the officers of the I.B.E.A. Co., recalling them from Uganda; they were ordered to leave and to return to the coast because of the increased expense to the Company's finances. With the nobility of character for which officers of our army are famous, Captain Williams, R.A., the officer commanding Kampala, determined to remain in Uganda and to be responsible for the Sudanese troops and their pay and for the general expenditure necessary for the British occupation of the country, rather than to leave the people to anarchy and bloodshed. He appealed to the missionaries to help him out of their allowances to make up

the sum which he knew would be required for his stay, but when he heard what small stipends they received, he realised that this would be of no material value to him. Nevertheless he resolved to hold on and to appeal to the British public, for he knew that his presence was necessary for law and order.

During these troubled months it was quite customary for men to carry firearms for protection daily; even when going to church, guns were carried, which were stacked near the entrance, where guards were set during the time of service, because the two parties had not learned to trust each other as yet. It was a great relief to all concerned when a few days after the order had come to the British officers to leave, a second cable arrived telling them to remain, as funds had been provided for them to continue to rule the country for a longer period. A week or two later the explanation came, namely that through an appeal of Bishop Tucker at a missionary meeting the sum of £800 had been raised, in order to retain Uganda. A few months later a party of Royal Engineers, who were surveying the country for a railroad from Mombasa to Lake Victoria, entered Uganda; the leaders, Captains Macdonald and Pringle, had duties to carry out in connection with their work of survey, which detained them some months in Uganda. In 1893 the Consul-General of Zanzibar, Sir Gerald Portal, arrived with a party, to make inquiries into the state of the country, with the object of reporting to the British Government, whether or not it would be advisable for England to take over Uganda as a Protectorate. The result of Sir Gerald Portal's visit and inquiry is well known; England took over Uganda and also the country from the lake to the coast, which is known as the East African Protectorate. With the new treaty the Imperial East African Protectorate Company ceased to exist, and the British flag began to fly over the old fort on Kampala hill. These stirring times of civil wars had not been without their excitements and dangers; one of the worst conflicts between the two parties, French and English, had revealed to us how bitter people could become in their desire to be the

dominant party; clans and even brothers were divided and took opposite sides. Such a state of clan animosity would have been inconceivable before the people began to take political sides; the old ties of primitive customs had now broken down, and there was nothing to bind the families as before.

The chief cause for anxiety which we missionaries had during this time was from incendiarism; our houses were built of reeds and grass, and would have burned down in a few minutes, had they been set on fire by the enemies who, for weeks, were going about by night, setting fire to native houses belonging to men of the opposite party to their own. Later in my Uganda experience, I had my house burned down accidentally by a workman, who carelessly set fire to his own hut when burning out biting ants; the wind then carried some burning grass from the hut to my house, and it caught fire. It was at two o'clock in the afternoon, the hottest part of the day, and in a few moments the house was reduced to ashes. Though I was in the house, I had no time to bring out my possessions such as clothing, I could only save the mail which had arrived for the mission, and then I fled just as the burning roof was falling in on me. Friends kindly supplied me with food, clothing, and shelter, until other things could be obtained. Owing to the fierceness of this fire, and the blowing of a strong wind, another mission house, some fifty yards distant, caught fire and was also burned down, and two men like myself were rendered homeless and lost their belongings. When a native hut catches fire, the inmates first see that their children are carried out of danger, and afterwards throw out as much of their property as possible before the flames become too fierce for them to remain; they seldom try to extinguish the flames, but only endeavour to save other houses near; this they do by mounting the roof and beating off the sparks as they fall upon the thatch. The men who mount the roofs are armed with leafy branches, and they sweep off the sparks as they fall; there are often showers of sparks from these fires, and as huts are usually built rather closely together, the work of the men coping with the fire is at times difficult

and rather dangerous. On one occasion I arrived at a house which was on fire; the woman had thrown out most of her goods and was watching the fire, when she realised that she had overlooked her baby; she was beside herself with frenzied grief and had to be held, lest she should rush into the flames to try to rescue the child. When the fire burned out, the remains of the dead baby were found, wrapped in the bark-cloth in which it had been sleeping; according to native fashion its head and face had been covered over with bark-cloth when it fell asleep, and it was doubtless quickly suffocated.

A striking incident took place during the visit of Sir Gerald Portal, which will give an idea of the depth and reality of the influence of the Christian religion upon the people. The chiefs of the two Christian parties, French and English, who were now reconciled, went to Sir Gerald Portal and told him that they wished to sign a treaty, giving freedom to all slaves in their country. He hesitated to accept the request, because he feared that the people had not given so important a matter the consideration which it deserved; he therefore asked them to reconsider their request, after giving them a few ideas as to the vastness and costliness of such an undertaking. It really meant a great deal to the people, and we who had been in constant touch with the homes of all classes knew that in some places the women would keenly feel the loss of their domestic slaves; still, when the matter was fully explained to them, the chiefs and peasants answered that slavery was contrary to the spirit of their Christian faith, and they were prepared to suffer loss. Eventually the papers were signed in the presence of Sir Gerald, and all slaves were proclaimed free.

The leading chiefs were not satisfied with merely proclaiming the freedom of slaves, but they assisted, as far as they could, all slaves to return to their relatives in the adjacent countries. Responsible persons were sent with parties of slaves to see them safely home, much to the joy of both slaves and their relatives.

When Sir Gerald Portal had completed his task of drawing up the treaty, and of having it signed by the king and

responsible chiefs, he left Major Macdonald as British Representative in command in Uganda, while he hurried away from what was to him a place of sadness. During his visit he had lost his brother, who died from fever contracted when alone in an unhealthy part of the country; the sick man was carried with all speed to the capital, but it was too late to help him, and he arrived only to die.

Soon after Sir Gerald Portal's departure the Sudanese, who for months had been diligently drilling and practising rifle fire and were a formidable army, became unsettled; they were, as has already been stated above, an unsatisfactory set of men when under Gordon in Khartoum. It is true that there were arrears of wages due to them, but they knew that these were safe, and would be paid to them in a short time; the delay was due to imperfect transport in getting goods from the coast; moreover they were not in need of any comforts. They changed their cause of complaint, however, from deferred pay, and demanded a higher rate of wages, mentioning first one reason, and then another for their discontent. The true cause, namely that they had rebellious intentions, leaked out through some loyal Baganda, who were in close touch with them, and who informed us that there would probably be a mutiny among the troops in a few days, as a rising was being planned, with the intention of first killing the Europeans, and afterwards forming Uganda into a Sudanese province. These same friends advised us to escape to some place of safety before the troops had time to mature the scheme. Major Macdonald was informed of the intended rising, but naturally could not believe such a report, which certainly seemed incredible at the time. We afterwards learnt that the Mohammedan Baganda had planned with the Sudanese troops to murder the European Resident and as many missionaries as possible, and then to place Moga, the brother of the famous King Mutesa, and uncle to King Mwanga, on the throne, who was to have Selim Bey, the Sudanese general, as his prime minister.

According to Uganda custom it is impossible for a prince who is appointed to the office of Elder Brother (Kiwewa) of



a king, and has the oversight of all the other princes, to reign, but the Mohammedans, being at this time without a prince, wished to brush aside this difficulty and were about to make the old man king. Fortunately for us, the Sudanese troops had been divided into two sections for military reasons; and half of them were twenty miles away from the capital at Entebe, a fort on the lake, where the new European headquarters were being established. This fact made it more difficult for the two parties to act rapidly. To add to this difficulty, the Baganda Mohammedans were some fifteen miles away, and could not readily communicate with their leaders, or make preparations for war, without creating suspicion.

The Resident, though slow to accept the report of disloyalty among his troops, acted with caution, watching closely every movement, and making secret investigations into matters which at other times would have escaped notice. Two or three days later he called at the mission, to tell us that he had discovered that there was truth in the rumour of a rebellion and wished us to know this, so that we might either escape to some place of safety, or stand by him and try to quell the intended rising; naturally every Englishman remained. It was on a Saturday morning when the missionaries were warned, and at noon the members of the two missions, French and English, met at Fort Kampala, where the Resident ordered the troops "to fall in" and explained to them that he knew of their intended rising. To a man the troops swore on the Koran that they were faithful, and denounced the report as utterly false. There was no other course open to us but to accept their word, so the missionaries returned home for the night. Very early on the following morning we were again summoned by the Resident to the Fort; he sent word that he must disarm the troops at once, if the place were to be saved, so no time must be lost. We went in haste to the Fort, though it was only seven o'clock, and were told by the Resident that an attempt had been made during the night to murder him, and that he had been on guard until daylight, when he sent his private servant to summon us.

The French fathers discredited the word of the troops the day before, and, under cover of night, took their departure to Budu on their way to Bukoba, their station in German East Africa, leaving a few servants with instructions to guard their houses and property as long as possible, and then to flee if necessary. There was therefore only a small party of English left to stand by the Resident. We numbered eight Englishmen and a few Swahili porters, most of whom were lame from jiggers in their feet, and could only stand with pain, using their guns as crutches to hobble to their posts. Still, as we were told by the *Times'* correspondent, Mr Gedge, who was travelling and who came in time to be with us for this event, it was satisfactory to know that these men could not run away. The Resident briefly related to us on arriving at the Fort the events of the night, and said it was a difficult position and most grave, because the troops were in possession of the best rifles and had secured large quantities of ammunition from the store; the rifles left in the store were miserable weapons, only fit for porters to make a show with when journeying through districts where the natives were armed with spears only. The plan of operations suggested by the Resident was for the Europeans to mount guard at set distances along the Fort stockade; then the troops were to be drawn up under the Fort, and he (the Resident) was to go to them and, after telling them his decision, to disarm them by quickly commanding them to lay down their arms; in the event of their disobeying the order, we were to fire upon them, regardless of his safety, and to fight for our own lives.

After these instructions had been given, we shook hands and took our positions around the Fort, feeling that it was a hopeless cause, and that there was nothing for us but death; still we determined to make the best of it and to sell our lives as dearly as possible. In the gateway was placed an old maxim gun which had belonged to Stanley; it was known to jam after firing four or five rounds; nevertheless, it made a show and might possibly be of use, and all we did that morning was

merely show, for our trust was not in our own strength or weapons. When we were ready, the troops were called and fell into line on the slope of the Fort, as though there were no mutiny planned, and the Resident marched out smoking a cigarette, and took his stand some thirty yards from the Fort gate. We could catch an occasional word he said, as we stood with every nerve strung to the highest pitch of expectation, wondering what would happen. The few moments taken by the Resident to explain to the troops the situation and his determination, seemed hours to us; then the sharp clear command rang out to ground arms, and, to our intense relief, down went the rifles of all, except that of one man whom the Resident at once covered with a revolver from his side pocket, till the man dropped his rifle. The next order to turn and march came quickly, and the troops moved a few yards, leaving their rifles on the ground, where the orderly with a porter promptly stacked them and mounted guard, while the Resident continued his task and ordered the troops to remove their bandoliers. It was found, when these were examined, that each man had a large supply of cartridges ready for use. The troops were thereupon dismissed to their quarters, and we were safe for the moment.

By his calm prompt action the Resident had taken the men off their guard, and they had in a mechanical manner obeyed his order and left their rifles behind, before they realised what they had done; it seemed to them so much like a part of their drill routine. The relief to us who were standing on guard was for a few moments too great for words, then we showered congratulations and praise upon Major Macdonald, who had thus saved both us and the Baganda.

There had been no time to communicate with the loyal natives in the early morning when we were called to the Fort, and we had given them no intimation that we were leaving the mission. It was therefore a surprise to us to see an army of these men rising from the grass and coming from all manner of places when the Sudanese were disarmed. They had been secreted in all kinds of places as near as they could come,

ready to assist us and fight for us, had the troops disobeyed the order to disarm when given by Major Macdonald. The Prime Minister now came forward with an army of several hundreds of loyal men fully armed and ready for action. He told the Resident that Selim Bey was reported to have left Entebe with his troops and was marching on Kampala, and that the Mohammedan Baganda were coming in from their district in the north-west and would arrive in about two or three hours. We were therefore only just in time to save ourselves and the country, and steps had to be taken promptly to meet the next emergency.

Scouts were sent in each direction to watch the approaching armies. It was soon learnt that the Sudanese had been warned of what had happened by a runner from the disarmed troops, and that Selim Bey had at once turned and hurried back to Entebe; on the other hand, the Mohammedan Baganda were reported to be within four miles of the capital. The loyal Baganda undertook to meet their own countrymen and deal with them; so they moved off under the leadership of the Katikiro along the road on which these Mohammedans were reported to be advancing. Shortly after nine o'clock the first shots were heard, and for fully an hour the sound of rapid firing continued; then wounded men were carried into the Fort to be treated by the Europeans, and we were kept busy assisting them and doing all that we could to dress wounds and to relieve the dying. By twelve o'clock the Mohammedan party was defeated and in full retreat, being pursued by the loyal Baganda, who followed them some miles out of the capital into the country, and left them a disorganised body of men, fleeing away to the west singly or in parties of two or three.

The missionaries were unable to return to the mission station that day; their presence was needed for several days to share in garrison duties at the Fort. Even if they had not been wanted for these duties, it would have been unwise to have gone back until the capital was rather more safe from spies and stray members of the hostile parties. The following day the Resident set off to Entebe with a Muganda chief,

Nikodemu Sebwato, and a following of Baganda to disarm the troops; there he found Selim Bey professing to be loyal and pretending that he knew nothing of the rising. The troops were ordered to fall in and were disarmed, and Selim Bey was removed for safety to an island of the lake, until arrangements could be made to conduct him to the coast. Only a few friendly natives were taken by the Resident to Entebe, but it proved that they were quite sufficient for the purpose, because the troops to a man laid down their arms and remained submissive. After a few days had elapsed, the missionaries were able to return to their homes and to their work, while the natives returned to their labour of building houses and of renovating their gardens and plantain groves. The mission suffered no harm during the absence of the missionaries, because the Prime Minister had sent a guard which kept everything in perfect order during their stay at the Fort.

The Mohammedan Baganda, by their folly in rising against the Government, again lost their homes and the district to which they had been allotted, and were scattered over the country. Mboga, their old chief and leader, the brother of Mutesa, was sent to the coast, to be out of the way in the event of any further rising, and also that the people might forget him as a possible candidate for the throne. Later on Selim Bey was sent to the coast; however he never reached it, but died on the way down from an old internal trouble. For the next four or five years the country remained quiet, and rapid strides were made in all matters of government, in social life, in building, and in road making.

When the Arab and Swahili traders were allowed to settle in Uganda, they introduced the building of square houses, which were in some respects an improvement upon the old beehive huts of the Baganda, especially as regards sanitary conditions, and because they had windows and could be ventilated. The king and the chiefs soon adopted the new style of house, and other needful sanitary reforms were made, such as the adoption of cesspools, whereas previously people

had retired into the gardens for the relief of nature. Useful arts were also learnt, such as making soap from the fat of animals with the ashes from burnt plantain peelings, and making mats from the fronds of wild palm trees.

A further distribution of chieftainships took place at this time, and the French party were given more land, and encouraged to be more sociable. The Budu district in which the Roman Catholics had settled, and which they had kept closed against all so-called English, became an open district, and a state of friendship began between the parties.

## CHAPTER IX

### SOME BAGANDA BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS—GODS OF THE LUBARE WORSHIP—GHOSTS AND REINCARNATION— HUMAN SACRIFICES

**I**N the year 1880 a traveller marching the eight hundred miles from the east coast of Africa into the interior to Uganda, would have found little to suggest that the tribes through which he passed had any religion; there was little or nothing to betoken that the people had any thoughts of another world or an afterlife. We now know that all these tribes have some form of worship, and are armed with either fetishes or amulets on their persons, which are supposed to protect them from ghostly enemies and from all forms of magic, and also to preserve them from danger from wild animals or from hostile tribes. By the ordinary traveller who has had no previous training, and who has taken little interest in primitive religions, these objects worn by natives might be easily overlooked, or regarded as rude ornaments; indeed many objects which are held in great veneration by natives, and are of intense ethnological value, might escape notice. In Uganda, however, it was different, for before the civil wars mentioned in the last chapter there were abundant traces of religion; temples and shrines abounded, because the Baganda have for generations been a devout people. Religious ceremonies began with the birth of a person and continued throughout life until his death, when there was an elaborate funeral ceremony, after which the ghost of the departed was worshipped. Each day in a house began with certain ceremonies for ridding the family or the individual from magic and unwholesome spells, and it closed with some form of worship to protect the sleeper during the night. Almost every person had some kind of fetish, on which he laid his head, and some people asked it to protect them during the night. Many of the hills

had a temple or shrine upon their summit, and, though the people had not learned the art of constructing permanent buildings, these gigantic conical huts, built at considerable cost and labour, were kept in beautiful condition, were dedicated to the gods, and were guarded and kept by priests and mediums, who ministered in them, and to whom the people resorted when they wished to consult the god who was supposed to abide there.

A simple way of classifying the gods which most people will readily understand, is to say, that one class were hero gods and the other nature gods, though the natives themselves classified the gods as national and private or clan gods. National gods had temples to which members of any clan might go to seek assistance, and the emblems of these gods were taken periodically to visit the king and to bestow their blessing upon him; they were accompanied at such times by mediums and priests, who went dressed in special garments intended to make a display, so as to obtain popular honour and esteem. The temples of these national gods were built and kept in repair by the state, and there were special ceremonies and functions when they were rebuilt. The other class of gods belonged to individual clans, and according to the wealth of the clan and its numerical greatness so the temple and the god varied in honour and esteem. It will be necessary to say more about the origin of these two classes later; here we need only say that the national gods were in all probability the more recent addition to the religion of the country, the clan gods being the original deities. Emblems of clan gods, when they existed, were not taken before the king, and were only consulted by members of the clan.

It was customary for the king to send presents of slaves, male and female, to these national gods in return for favours received, and offerings of cattle in order to ward off evil. The king was regarded as superior to the priests by most of his subjects; indeed he was commonly believed to be equal in power to the gods, though during his lifetime he was not expected to grant any spiritual blessings, nor was he called



upon to produce rain, as was customary among most of the nations surrounding Uganda. The king at times sent men to rob and plunder the estates of the temples, if he was annoyed by any action of the priests, or was jealous of their wealth; this was more than ordinary persons dared do, for they feared too much the vengeance of the god. Other nations asked their chiefs to bring rain or fine weather, as circumstances demanded. In Uganda it was the duty of a nature god to regulate the weather; and famine from lack of rain was thought to be caused by the indiscretion of some person, which needed to be atoned for by offerings.

To the national gods all men had access; it was only a question of paying a higher rate of fees to the priests and of making a suitable offering to the god, and they could obtain the oracle through the medium. Private gods were attached to each clan and were only available to members of the clan. The king had nothing whatever to do with these gods except possibly with the god of his mother's clan; indeed members of a clan frequently sought the aid of their clan god, to thwart the designs of the king, or to protect themselves against attacks of the king's anger, or to influence the king in some particular way to their advantage; or again they might seek the god's assistance against some powerful chief.

Both the popular national gods and the clan gods were hero gods, that is to say, at some remote period the deities had been human beings, who for some reason had been venerated and afterwards deified. According to tradition, however, these gods were direct descendants of the Creator; they were sons of God who, after appearing on earth in human form for some time, returned to God. Man was also believed to be the direct descendant of God; the first parents came from God and would have remained immortal, had not woman transgressed by breaking the command of her father the Creator, and so brought death into the world. The supreme God named Creator, *Katonda*, never came to earth, nor had he any active part in ruling the earth, but he left the ordering of the cosmos to the gods, his sons, for detailed management.

The Creator received but little worship, and his temple was a small hut, much inferior to those of the god of plenty and the god of war. To the temple of the Creator the king sent annually a gift of an ox and a milch cow, and he worshipped him on behalf of his people and country. A common saying of the people was that the Creator had done his work, and there was no need to disturb him, therefore they made no offerings to him; the work of carrying on the world's routine had been deputed to other gods, whose duty it was to see that all went on smoothly.

The heaven, that is the sky, was called *Gulu*, a god said to be the son of the Creator. Of his sons one was named *Kintu*, the first man who came to earth, while another son, *Musisi*, came to earth as a god, and was the father of the principal national gods. Through *Gulu* we reach the anthropomorphic deity, a theory which the native cherishes, for he repudiates stoutly the suggestion that his gods were ever ordinary men, though he admits that they took human form and submitted to the ordinary means of increase by marriage and birth; human beings supplied the gods with wives who became the mothers of the gods. The relics of the god of war, which had been buried during the Mohammedan reign, have recently been discovered; they are certainly human remains, which have for many generations been worshipped as divine and were believed to be something superhuman. The war god, *Kibuka*, was said to be a son of Musisi and brother of Mukasa, the god of plenty, who ruled the great Lake Victoria; he (*Kibuka*) was credited with the power of flying and of hurling weapons upon his foes from the clouds. It was when fighting that he was discovered in his dark cloud, and mortally wounded by an arrow shot by one of the foe, whereupon he fled away and died. He was buried in a particular district on a hill where his temple afterwards stood, and where his relics were recently found.

These national gods, in almost every case, at all events in the case of those whose ceremonies it has been possible to trace, had annual festivals, when crowds of people were

drawn from every part of the country, who remained in the vicinity of the temple some nine days. To these festivals every person, even the smallest child in arms, took an offering which was presented to the priest, who placed it before the god and afterwards added it to the temple property. The chief feature of the ceremony was dancing and feasting, which was continued by day and by night incessantly. All the food, meat and wine was provided by the people themselves, who gave according to their means. Strict rules of chastity and sobriety were observed, drunkenness was not allowed, while any yielding to lust and passion would have been an offence against the god and punishable by death. At the close of the festival the priest dismissed the people with the blessing of the god, promising them prosperity and every other material blessing.

It is of interest to note that the cult of this particular class of god came from the region of the Lake Victoria into Uganda. Mukasa was the god of the lake and had his chief temple on an island bearing his name. Of all the gods the god Mukasa alone had more than one temple. In every case a god had his temple situated on a hill, and his power was limited to the particular locality, so that his worshippers and suppliants went to this temple for any purpose with which he was concerned. Mukasa, being the god of beneficence, had various temples, in each of which was the emblem of the god, a canoe paddle; this had been brought from the chief temple, and was supposed to convey divine power, of which the medium partook when giving the oracle; the chief temple was on the Island Bukasa. These the principal national gods of this class have their origin through Bukulu from Gulu, the son of Katonda. Gulu was also, as we have seen, the father of Kintu, the first man; thus man was closely related to the gods. Both Kintu and Bukulu are said to have come to the earth together. There is another interesting tradition, namely, that the kings came to Uganda by lake, and for years lived on the shore of the great lake in the vicinity of Jungo near their first landing

place. These stories agree with the traditions of other pastoral tribes, who state that their forefathers came from the north-east, and that they have a common ancestry. Such an account, if authentic, would leave room for aborigines with religious ideas of their own concerning deified ancestors or clan ghosts, and would point to a time when the clans were independent tribes, each with its own form of worship and its clan chief. The national gods had no fetishes, but had their special emblems, or rather relics as we now believe them to be, judging from the case of Kibuka, the war god; these were preserved in their temples and never taken away from the sacred precincts. Clan gods, on the other hand, supplied fetishes to members of the clan. Fetishes have been made a subject of much enquiry and of careful research. I now believe the solution of the problem to be bound up with the explanation that fetishes belong to clan gods and therefore vary considerably in names, in shapes, and in their specific duties. The medicine-man of the particular clan is the maker and vendor of the fetish belonging to his own clan god, and is accordingly a rival of all other manufacturers and vendors, his aim being to supply an article of superior power to that of any other clan.

The kings from very early times have been deified at death, and their jawbones with a portion of the umbilical cord have been preserved in temples; these relics correspond with those discovered and attributed to the war god Kibuka. Some twelve years ago a report was current in Uganda, which reached the principal chiefs in the capital, who were Christians, that a bundle in the temple of King Kintu contained some writings or papyrus sheets; the chiefs became somewhat excited, because they hoped it would prove that writing had been known at an early date. The bundle was opened and examined, and though they found no writing, they discovered some relics of the first king, which were similar to those of the god Kibuka. This investigation afforded further interesting testimony to the belief that the gods were men, because the tradition concerning King Kintu is that,

like the chief gods, he disappeared from the earth and returned to the Creator.

Investigation of the Lubare worship leads to the supposition that these gods belonged to the invaders who introduced the improved form of government, the higher grades of art, and the marks of a higher code of civilisation and politics; it will, however, be found that there has been an amalgamation of a primitive form of worship with this higher order. In the clan gods we find what is probably the older order and more primitive form of worship in Uganda. The gods of a clan were in most instances hero gods, and there is seldom any attempt made to hide this fact; they were originally members of the clan, and in some few cases relics exist which are carefully guarded by the clan members. These relics are the links between the living and the dead, in other words they are the tangible objects to which the ghost is said to cling, and form the sacred emblems for worship. In each clan there was the worship of a particular god, who might or might not possess relics. There were clans possessing no relics or objects of veneration, though there was a priest and a medium; in other clans the priest was also the medium and he gave the oracle from the god.

In the chief temple of the god Mukasa the object of veneration is said to have been a meteoric stone, which was turned about first in one direction, and then in another, according to the phase of the moon.

In almost every case the person nominated to hold the office of Father of the clan became the priest, and in some few instances he was also the medium; in other cases there was a medium in addition to the priest; in the latter cases the priest took offerings and requests before the god, the medium then became possessed and gave the oracle. Requests made to clan gods were of a limited range and were applicable to clan members only; the offerings were chiefly goats and fowls, though sometimes a chief would send a cow, and on rare occasions a slave; large supplies of beer were also taken by each suppliant. Animals devoted to a god were usually

females; they were kept alive in the shrine or temple, and any offspring they might have increased the wealth of the god. If a slave was offered, as sometimes happened when a wealthy person had escaped death or recovered from a serious illness, a male would be employed in supplying firewood for the temple fire, and for general work about the temple and buildings, whereas a female would be set to cultivate the temple estate and to take charge of the sacred fire and vessels in the temple.

It was usual for a man after marriage to ask the blessing of the clan god upon his union, that there might be children, and also to seek his aid for cultivation of the land, increase of cattle, and general prosperity. Again, in cases of sickness, the clan god was consulted before any national god, and he either gave advice by oracle as to the remedies to be used, or he sent the enquirer to some national god, where the patient could receive the necessary aid. Beyond these special times when the assistance of the god was sought, no stated periods for worship were fixed, except the annual gathering when members of the clan came together to seek blessings for the year and which lasted about nine consecutive days. As a rule, however, annual gatherings were held only at the temples of the more important gods; most of the clan gods were restricted to small gatherings and the smaller rejoicings of the clan.

The cult of ghosts formed an important part in the life of the people because of their conviction that ghosts were able to help or to harm the living. The ghost world was no far-off land separated from this world, but it was part and parcel of it; indeed each garden was the playground of these unseen visitants, who in the noontide sunshine might be heard rustling among the leaves of the trees. Accordingly it behoved the living to be careful how they acted, and especially how they treated the body which the ghost had inhabited, and also the grave in which the body was laid. This belief in ghosts had no part in the deification of kings, who had a special form of worship which will be mentioned later, but the belief in ghosts and the worship of them affected

the rank and file of the nation, and was in all probability a part of the aborigines' belief and of an earlier date than the introduction of the national gods, which appears to date from the time when the royal clans invaded the country and amalgamated the other clans. When it became known that the spirit had left the body, that is that death had taken place, wailing began, and part of this consisted in reciting the good deeds of the deceased, and in the widows recounting the gifts which they had received. The ghost was supposed to be in the vicinity of the body, to hear and understand what was said, and to be gratified by the eulogies. The ghost still retained the limited powers and possibilities of the living person, and could know only what was taking place in the locality in which it happened to be; hence relays of mourners kept up a constant cry in the house in which the body lay until burial. The mourners who were relieved from the task of lamentation left the house, and were allowed to enter into the most trivial and apparently thoughtless conversation or occupation in another building, because the ghost did not see or know what they were doing, and could not be affected by their levity or want of reverence. The elaborate proceedings in the ritual of funeral rites had in view the welfare of the ghost; so also had the relatives in making choice of a site for the grave, which had to be in the clan burial ground. The offerings also which were laid with the body in the grave were for the use and comfort of the ghost. The honour of having a son present at the funeral was great, but it was surpassed by the further presence of a grandchild. In the person of these descendants the ghost was assured of a continued remembrance and of its future welfare, which depended upon the living. For the future the ghost looked to the grave with a shrine near it as its abode; the shrine built at the head of the grave added considerably to its comfort, while in the larger hut, built by the more wealthy for the shrine, with a slave to keep a fire burning, and a pot of beer always ready for its use, the ghost existed in regal state, and the relatives might rest assured of its ghostly favour. To retain the

good offices of the ghost, offerings of clothing, that is of bark-cloth, and also of cattle, fowls, slaves and beer were made. The chief needs of the ghost were thought to be caused by the two extremes of heat and cold; hence clothing and drink were provided, while cattle, slaves, and fowls were added thereto and formed the wealth of the ghost. A widow was installed to take care of the grave, her special duty being to keep it free from weeds and to preserve the mound intact. When a grave was deserted and neglected, so that the mound over it crumbled away, or, if it had been thatched instead of having a mound, when the thatch had rotted, exposing the grave and allowing weeds to grow and rain to fall upon it, the ghost felt the discomfort; it also felt the lack of offerings on the part of relatives and became annoyed and visited them in anger, causing sickness or some other trouble. It continued these aggressive methods until the grave was restored to order and offerings were made. It was in the power of the medicine-man to discover which ghost was causing trouble in a clan, and to give the right advice for removing the cause. When a ghost was reincarnated, the necessity of making offerings or of guarding the grave ceased; the latter was allowed to crumble away, and the site was dug over and planted with ordinary plantain trees. No two bodies might be laid in the same grave, even a mother and her babe had separate graves, though they might be side by side. It was this same belief that the ghostly abode was the grave which restricted the number of bodies interred in a grave, and limited it to one, lest the ghosts should quarrel for the right of the home. In like manner one or more widows were allotted to care for a grave of the husband, to live near it, and keep it from falling into decay, lest the ghost should have cause for annoyance.

Children were liable to suffer from female ghosts, chiefly those of the father's sisters, which resented neglect or slight of some kind by their brother, and therefore would afflict one or other of his children with some illness peculiar to children. A brother was responsible for the burial and mourning, and also for providing the heir to the office and property of



a deceased sister. Even when a woman was married, her brother was the chief mourner, and had to watch over the burial and mourning ceremonies, to see that they were properly conducted; he also supplied another sister to become the wife of the bereaved husband, and this new wife became heir to any property of the deceased wife and had charge of her sister's grave.

The cult of nature gods seems to have been of later introduction and not to have been developed, or more probably to have failed from lack of knowledge. In the case of hero gods and of ghosts the worshippers had an idea of what the god or the ghost would like; this idea was based upon what people liked or disliked in their present life, and was transferred to the inhabitants of the other world. In the case of nature gods the people appear to have had no idea, as to their nature, and therefore not to have known what would be their likes or dislikes. These nature gods belonged to the same class as the god of heaven, Gulu, and Katonda the Creator, and required other means of reaching them than the gods who had been men. Nature gods had no temples, nor were there any priests. The most important of those to whom the people resorted were the god of rain and the earthquake god, the Creator being utterly beyond the reach of the ordinary man. In no instance was the worship of a nature god developed, and no requests were made directly to them. The gods were males, and were married to human wives who were members of the nation; and it was through these wives that the gods were reached and moved to compassion; in other words, the super-human being was reached by means of the ghost of the human wife. The wife of each god, at death, became a goddess; a temple for her relics was built, and a medium with priests and full ritual for worship was established; the goddess could then be approached and asked to intercede with her husband, who was out of reach of any direct communication, having neither temple nor medium.

It is worthy of note that the hero gods, previously mentioned, were restricted to particular localities, and the



SITE WHERE HUMAN SACRIFICES WERE OFFERED IN UGANDA



HASTILY BUILT HUT FOR SERVANTS' SHELTER FOR NIGHT



THE MUKAMA (KING) OF BUNYORO WITH HIS WIFE  
AND DAUGHTERS

worshippers had to visit the place where the temple was built, in order to obtain any assistance from the god.

Next to the gods in value in religious matters were fetishes, which are objects supposed to convey the power of a god to the home or to the individuals possessing the fetish, and especially to warriors and travellers, who thus remain under the protection of the god. One or two fetishes were said to approach very nearly to equality with the gods themselves: Mbajwe, for example, one of the most important of all fetishes, was held in great awe, and had a temple, medium, and priests, and to him the king sent periodically offerings of human beings. He was represented as a serpent with the phallus in his mouth. In Budu a living python was worshipped, which had a temple with a medium and priests, while its special guardian was a woman who lived in the temple near the spot on which the python lay. Multitudes of barren women went to this reptile, as each new moon appeared, carrying offerings, in order to make supplication for the power to become mothers. As stated above, no national god had a fetish; all the fetishes which the people possessed were connected with clan gods. The emblems of the national gods were not taken away from the temples, except some from the war-god. The latter sent his representative, a priest, to accompany the leader of an expedition with an emblem so that the priest could consult the oracle wherever they might be, and tell the general what line of action he should take, or warn him as to the whereabouts and designs of the enemy. Each warrior carried his particular fetishes; one was slung round his neck, while another was fastened to the handle of his shield, to enable him to parry missiles of the enemy, or to make his own weapons effective, and also to make him brave in battle. In addition to these fetishes which a warrior carried with him, his home was supplied with fetishes, and his chief wife, named "little slave of the gods," had the daily duty of making offerings to them; this duty she regarded as the making of offerings to the gods, because she thought of the beings represented by the

fetishes, and not of the mere materials. She prayed for her husband, that he might be protected, and for the family in general; thus she brought about good results both for herself and for her absent lord and for the nation. Fetishes were supplied to clients by special vendors, who alone knew the secret of making them and dedicating them to the particular god. These men were to be found in each clan; they were clever and made large profits by their skill; they were venerated by every class of society, and might go wherever they wished, and do practically whatever they liked; their object in life was to surpass in skill their fellow craftsmen of other clans.

The first wife whom a man married was caretaker of his fetishes, but in addition to this wife many of the more important chiefs had young girls living in their families, who held an office resembling that of Vestal Virgins in the temples. These were always maids who had been born in answer to requests made to a god by their parents, especially by women who feared that they might be childless; the girls were dedicated to the particular god at their birth and bore some form of his name. These young maids were sacrosanct, and men were most respectful to them and never took any liberties with them. Their duties in a household were to carry fetishes to the master from his wife, when he might wish to have them, and also, under the supervision of the chief wife, to watch over the household gods. It was because of her important position in the household as caretaker of the fetishes, that it behoved the chief wife to be faithful to her husband; any unfaithfulness on her part was supposed to cause the god to remove his protecting care from her husband, and to expose the latter to innumerable dangers. Hence, if a warrior was wounded or fell in battle, his chief wife was tried by ordeal, to discover whether she was the cause of her husband's misfortunes.

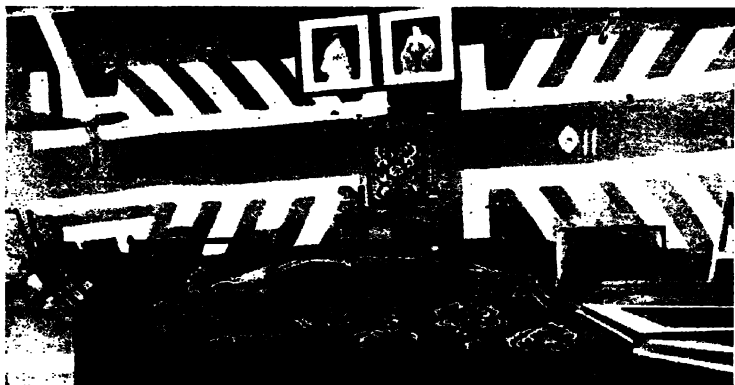
Medicine-men who made fetishes, though they were an influential body, were not attached to any temple, but visited the sick who sought their assistance. They gave



MASAI WOMEN IN ORDINARY COW-SKIN DRESS



UGANDA DRUMMERS



THE COURT HOUSE OF THE KING OF UGANDA



UGANDA CHILDREN HAVING A MEAL.



NATIVE OF MT. ELGON IN FULL DRESS

oracles by means of the examination of the entrails of animals and fowls; discovered the cause of any sickness, whether it was due to magic or to ghostly possession; they prescribed the remedies to be used in sickness, and gave the necessary instructions to any man who wished to work magic upon another.

Surgical skill had reached a high standard, though we may be sure that it had cost an immense number of lives to reach this proficiency; even a bone pressing upon the brain could be removed, and the patient saved. This operation was performed when the skull had been crushed in by stones flung in battle or by the blow of a club; the person's reason, if not his life, depended upon a successful operation. There were horrible wounds made by spears and arrows, in later years by gunshots, and also many mutilations performed in anger by the king or the chiefs upon followers or slaves for trivial offences; and the surgeons gained experience and skill in treating their patients. Mutilations consisted chiefly of the gouging out of eyes, the amputating of hands, the breaking of legs and cutting off of ears and lips. The surgeons, who were chiefly medicine-men, were themselves at times called upon by some official to perform mutilations, at other times they were required to treat a case after mutilation had taken place. There can be little doubt that the loss of life must have been great before these surgeons were able to perform their operations with the success which they obtained later. Natives do not suffer much from nervous shock, which is so often the cause of death after an operation performed on Europeans, so men whose stomachs had been ripped open with the bowels protruding, had a piece of gourd shell placed inside to keep the stomach in position, and the flesh was then stitched over it. Again, the idea of passing into the unseen world of ghosts without a limb, or in any wise mutilated, was terrible to the native mind, and this made men anxious to retain a limb whenever possible. In battle men preferred to die with a shattered limb rather than to have it amputated, and live. The fear of magic was the



most severe nervous strain which the surgeon had to guard against; if the patient could be convinced that there was no magical influence at work, he would endure horrible pain and might recover from the most ghastly wound, whereas if he received only a slight wound, and thought it was due to magic, he would die, unless counter-magic could convince him that all was well.

Ghostly possession was a common form of sickness which the medicine-men declared to be the result of a ghost's anger; they affirmed that some hostile ghost was the cause of this sickness. Such possessions were attributed to the influence of members of other clans, who induced a ghost of their own clan to afflict a person, because of some injury done to themselves or to one of their number. Children were more often possessed by female ghosts, and seldom by any male ghosts.

When human victims were offered for sacrifice, either to gods or to deified kings, the bodies of the victims were never claimed by their relatives for burial, but belonged to the gods, and their clan membership ceased. They passed into the ghost world as retainers of the particular god; such persons were never reborn, and in consequence their bodies were never claimed, but left to decay or to be eaten by wild beasts and birds at the sacrificial place. In the early days of Christian missions an attempt was made to have the Christian dead buried in the churchyards, to distinguish them from the heathen by having a religious burial according to Christian custom, and to disregard the clan custom and burial grounds. A few Christians agreed to this rule and had their dead buried in the common church burial grounds, but after a time the clan members of those who had died begged leave to remove all the male dead, and took their bodies to their own clan burial grounds, leaving only a few graves of women. It has always been the rule for a husband to bury his wife near his house where she died, and after her burial to destroy this house; there was therefore no particular reason for removing the bodies of women. It was customary to attribute success in life to the influence of some ghost,

and to offer a sacrifice to it when any good fortune attended a man; the offering had a public character, and relatives and friends assembled to partake of the sacred meal near the shrine built for the ghost. An animal was killed near the shrine, the blood was allowed to flow upon the ground and to run into the shrine, the meat was then cooked and eaten on the spot; thus the relatives partook of a sacred meal in the presence of the ghost and with it, thus giving it credit for the good received.

The ceremony at the death of a king was entirely different from that at the death of an ordinary person; indeed it is never allowed that a king has died; the "fire is extinct" is the usual phrase employed to express his death; the king may be said to have gone to the world of his forefathers, but he is not dead. The ceremony at his death is fuller than any which takes place even for the most noted chief, and it bears a different character quite apart from the practice of embalming the body. A number of people were appointed to die when the burial of a king took place, because they were office bearers whose duties were of the utmost importance to the comfort and welfare of the king; these people, both men and women, were put to death, in order to set their spirits free to continue their ordinary duties to the king in the ghost world. The people selected for death never shrank from their doom; their future estate, they thought, ensured such an honourable position as to compensate them for the cutting short of their earthly career; indeed some widows went so far as to beg for the honour of dying, and welcomed death, in order to accompany the man who gave them an honourable position. A large number of slaves and other persons were also despatched at the same time; they too were required for the retinue of the royal ghost, and they did not murmur because of their fate. Another important point to remember is that the ghosts of kings were never reincarnated; the kings were deified and therefore did not return to this life. Hence the office given to any person to attend a departed king was permanent, and took away all

hope and desire of a return to earthly life. In addition to the number of persons executed to occupy offices in the ghost world, there were also permanent offices at the temple given to old servants, and these were kept from dying out by the members of the clan to which the first holders of the office belonged. Take for example the highest office, that of the queen; at the death of her husband the widowed queen removed from her old home to a new house, built for her near the temple in which the relics of her late husband were deposited; there she was installed with full power over the officers and servants connected with the temple. There were certain widows who were appointed to live in the temple, and in houses near it, and in the courtyard in front of the temple. When the queen died, the reigning king appointed another princess to take her office, to be her heir, and also to be wife to the dead king. In like manner, whenever any widow in the temple or temple courts died, it was the duty of her clan members to appoint another woman of their clan to take her office, thus preserving it, and retaining every obligation which the king during his life had required of her. Each chief who became a retainer of a temple was, at his death, replaced by another man of his clan, and thus the office was perpetuated, and any peculiar duty with its traditions was retained. These chiefs lived near the temple, and held office under the queen whose title was Nalinya. When one of them died, his clan appointed another person to take his place, thus perpetuating the office and retaining any traditions connected with it. A widow in the temple might be released from her office and marry, but on one condition only, namely, that of obtaining the consent of the clan to which she belonged, who then elected some other woman to take her place. She was removed from the temple, and married from her old home, and not from the temple, as an ordinary member of the clan. It should be remembered that these women in the temple were not called widows, nor considered as such, but were wives of the departed king, who was spoken of as still living. The reigning king supplied

an estate for each temple, which amply provided for the needs of all the officers connected with it.

In a royal temple daily interviews were given to people by the deceased king; his court was arranged as though he were alive, and the assembled crowds sat in front of the royal dais where the king was said to be invisibly present. Food was taken to the temple for the king, with fowls, animals, and beer, and was handed over to the wives for use. There were times when the medium gave some special message to the nation, but the regular oracles were reserved for the king alone, because they concerned the state and government. The medium first chosen for office was a man who had been in the deceased king's service, and who therefore knew many of his peculiarities; this man was found to have the spirit of the king upon him, causing him to act as the king had done, to speak as he used to speak, and to imitate his gestures and mode of walk; this was the sign that he was possessed by the ghost, and he was then set apart for this work of a medium and lived in the temple. He was not always under the influence of the ghost, nor was he restricted to the temple enclosure; there were periods when he moved about in his natural way; but when he was required to give an oracle, he went through a form of preparation: he sat near a fire in the sacred chamber of the temple, smoked a special pipe, and gazed into the fire, until at length he began to speak in the tones of the late king and to utter the words of the oracle; he was then said to be under the influence of the spirit of the king.

The king had a shrine of his immediate predecessor in his own compound, to which he frequently went to obtain an oracle, and the medium visited this place to give it. On two or three occasions during his reign, the king would visit the temple; each occasion was one of great display and called for great preparation and attracted thousands of people. The relics of the former king were displayed, and the king sat before his predecessor and had the decorated umbilical cords of various past kings handed to him. The priest in

charge explained each relic, as he handed it to the king, who took it and examined it and handed it back to the caretaker. During this visit there were drums beaten and dances performed and songs sung. When the king was returning home, he gave the order to capture and to lead back to the temple a certain number of people from his followers. These men were either speared or clubbed to death at the temple, and thus sent to join the retinue of the former king in the ghost world.

At the time of the deification of the king, whose tomb was visited, it was necessary to produce the stump of the umbilical cord and to place it in the temple with the jawbone, because each object had its ghost; by this union of objects the two ghosts were brought together and a perfect deity obtained. The so-called twin of royalty, that is the stump of navel cord, was carefully preserved, though in the case of a peasant it was seldom kept after the naming ceremony mentioned above. The reason for the care taken of the umbilical cord of a prince was that, when a prince came to the throne, his umbilical cord was required for a monthly parade during his life, and after his death for his deification; whereas that of a peasant was not needed after the naming ceremony had been performed. It was usual to place the stump of umbilical cord of a peasant with the placenta at the root of a plantain tree after the naming ceremony. This plantain tree was for years guarded as sacred by the mother, who considered it to be vitally connected with the child whose cord was buried there, and the fruit might only be eaten by specially chosen members of the family. If the flowers from such a plantain tree fell upon the back of a woman, they were said to indicate that a child spirit was entering her, and she invariably became a mother shortly afterwards.

Reference has been made to the ceremony of offering human beings to the ghosts of kings; it remains now to explain further upon the religious idea in connection with offerings to the gods, and to state the precautions taken to

prevent the ghosts of the victims offered from haunting the living. Human sacrifices were made at the instigation and under the instructions of the priest of the temple of the war god, who stated that he had received instructions from the god to tell the king to capture and offer a number of human beings. These sacrifices were demanded for various reasons, either because some person was said to be about to rebel and cause civil war, or because they were required to ward off sickness or some calamity threatening the nation. The victims to be offered were described by the priest; there might be pointed out some particular colouring of the flesh or some deformity, or they might be known by the manner in which they carried some article; whatever was the distinctive feature, it was made known to the king, and by him given secretly to the men who were to effect the capture. It was incumbent upon the king to send his secret police to various places commanding the roads which led to the capital and were in consequence more frequented, in order to capture the victims in accordance with the instructions given; as the people were captured they were taken to the royal residence and detained there until the number required was complete. The god was informed, and he then gave the order as to where and how the victims were to be sacrificed, to appease the god and stay the calamity. The orders given to the police, who went to arrest the victims, were secret, and they hid themselves near the roads, and carried out their instructions regardless of sex or rank, and in as unostentatious manner as possible. The victims never raised any cry of protest when they discovered the object of their arrest, and it was useless to fight for freedom when captured, though flight was permissible, if the police failed to seize a man when they sprang out upon him. Clan members used every effort by petitions and bribes to the king to rescue their relatives, but if these failed, they yielded to the inevitable. The nation never resented such a number of people being captured and removed at a stroke, while the calm manner and almost indifference with which the

victims went to their death was remarkable. Men who have seized and executed numbers of such victims testify to their calm acquiescence, since they believed that they were giving their lives for the salvation of their country. It was only on the most rare occasions that a man would raise a protest when being led to death, and declare that he would take vengeance from the ghost world. The victims were given medicated wine to drink before they were executed, but this was not to allay the pain or suffering at execution, but to give the king and the priest power over the ghost, to prevent it from returning to cause trouble to the living. Each sacrificial place had its shrine in which was a sacred pot for holding the medicated wine, and the shrine was guarded by a medicine-man who made the special drink; from this pot each captive was requested to drink, and if he refused, a little of the wine was poured over him, and was said to have the same effect as if he had drunk the wine, namely, that of binding the spirit, so that it could not return to molest the living. The clothing of the captives was removed from them at this place, and they were taken naked to death. The bodies of such victims were never buried, nor was there any offering made to the ghost at the time of death; the only offering made was the clothing of one or at most of two of the victims, which was taken from them before death, and hung upon a tree in the neighbourhood of the site of execution. Relatives often tried to bribe the king so as to obtain the release of a victim, before the order was given to take him to the sacrificial place; and it was sometimes possible to bribe the chief of the executioners to allow a captive to escape when going to the place of execution. This was, however, only possible at certain places, most of the sacrificial places were regarded with such awe, that no hope of escape was held out to relatives. The king has also been known to relent when some favourite of his was captured, and to send after the executioner and direct him to spare the victim, especially when the latter was a favourite page, or some chief who had rendered special services to the state and stood high in royal esteem and

favour. Such a released prisoner was known as "The one who was spared," *Kawonawo*. He made the king a present of a white fowl immediately on his return and afterwards brought a worthy offering of cattle and slaves for the king, and also made offerings to his god. Wives were permitted to take leave of their husbands before they started on this last journey to the place of death, but these farewell meetings and partings were marked by what to us appears as stolid indifference on the part of the husband. The wife carried the water-pot and cooking-pot which she had used for the husband, to some place near the royal enclosure, where the meeting took place, and broke them before him, in token that she would have no further use of them for him.

The office of executioner was eagerly sought after by the members of the king's body guard. The men destined for death were sent off in batches under the charge of large numbers of warriors, who marched with songs and drums, as though going to a dance, and the victims often took part in the songs. The hope of gain seems to have been the cause which moved men to seek the office of executioner, rather than the desire to carry out the ghastly sentence of death or to satisfy morbid feelings for the sight of blood. Victims, when going to the sacrificial places, were often induced to make over cattle and other valuables to their executioners, in order that they might be spared unnecessary pain at death, and sometimes they were able to buy their lives and were given a chance of escape. At some of these sacrificial places the methods of execution were of a cruel and revolting nature, and must have involved untold suffering for the victims; for example some were taken to an island of the lake to become offerings to crocodiles; they had their arms and legs broken, and were placed in rows to await the coming of sacred crocodiles who carried them off and ended their pain; yet these tortures were thought to be pleasing to the gods. The victims, though pagans, were of opinion that their deaths were beneficial to the country, they went to execution calmly for the good of the community, and were buoyed up



by the idea that they would be with the gods as their followers and retainers. Another kind of sacrifice which involved prolonged suffering was made, either to stay small-pox, or to remove some imagined evil which adhered to an army returning from some punitive expedition, and to the spoil taken in war. It was thought necessary to find a means of removing the evil or plague, and returning it to the land from which it had come. A woman with her baby, a cow, a goat, a fowl, and a dog were selected. The sickness or evil was removed from the army and the spoil of war by the priests, who rubbed a bunch of special leaves of herbs over the people and animals to be cleansed; these were then tied round the necks of the victims, men were chosen to lead them back to the border of the country whence they had come, where they broke their limbs, and left them to die, with the sickness or evil upon them. A similar ceremony was performed when the king was about to be crowned, after he had completed the mourning ceremonies for his predecessor; a human victim was chosen, to whom any evil that might be resting upon the king was transferred, and he was taken over the frontier into an adjacent country, maimed as mentioned above, and left to die with the evil from the king upon him. This freed the king from magic or other ill that might be clinging to him, and enabled him to begin his reign in full strength.

The ceremonial use of drums needs a little further notice, because drums held an important place both in secular and in religious life. There were special drums for the sole use of the king, in which were fetishes of a particular kind; these drums were thought to increase the vigour of the king, when they were beaten, and the sound reached the ears of his majesty. Human offerings were made to them when the king was crowned, and the blood of the victims was run into them. Some of these fetishes which have been examined are of phallic origin. Such drums were regarded as sacred and were used at special times by day or by night for the benefit of the king; the fetishes also were restricted to the king's

use and were never allowed to be used by other people. There were other drums in the royal enclosure for more ordinary purposes; there was also a special band of drums, graded from small to large, reserved for the king's use.

The use of drums was much more extensive than is likely to be believed by people who use the drum for little more than to regulate the rhythm of a band. Not only had each temple its drum with distinctive rhythmical beats, but the king had a number of drums for his private use with special rhythms. Again when the king presented a chief with any office or chieftainship, he conferred upon him a drum; so general was this custom, that it was said when a chief was given a new office, that he had "eaten a drum," meaning he had been promoted. There were literally several hundred different beats for drums, and each rhythm was known by the people, and conveyed a definite meaning to them, as the waves of sound do to the wireless telegraphist. One rhythm conveyed to the hearer the fact that some particular chief was passing, another that a dance was taking place, another was a call to war, another indicated a fire alarm, and so forth. The drum was thus equivalent to wireless telegraphy, carrying messages far and wide and as quickly as sound travels. In the case of any urgent call or claim, it was the duty of the first person at a distance who heard the rhythm to repeat the message, and thus in a few minutes a claim or call was carried hundred of miles.

Before we pass on from the gods and worship to another subject, the god of plague needs to be mentioned. This deity is said to have taken a human body which was merely a human trunk; a child born without arms and legs was believed to be the incarnate god. The circumstances under which this child was born are briefly as follows: a prince married a woman contrary to the wishes of his brother the king, and against the advice of the priests. The outcome of this marriage was the birth of a child without limbs, which was declared by the priests to be the god of plague. The mother with her child was summarily banished from the

country by lake to Busoga; but the poor hunted woman was not permitted to remain there, and wandered from place to place, seeking a home, but meeting with expulsion in each country to which she went, until at length she took up her abode upon a hill, on the frontier of Uganda and Bunyoro, a kind of no man's land, where she lived and where she died. After the death of her son he was deified, and the house in which he lived and died was turned into a temple, where his nurse became the medium. A hole, probably the open grave in the house, was said to be the god's place of abode; it was covered with a rug made from the skins of a species of small wild cat, which was kept in place by stones round the edges. Whenever plague appeared in the country, it was said that the god had escaped from his residence and had caused the calamity. The hole was then examined, and any defect made good by the addition of a new cover of skins; and priests were sent from the temple to deal with the plague stricken centre and to treat the sick. If anyone died, the widow, the children, and all the property in the hut of the deceased were confiscated and taken to the temple of the god of plague, and no mourning for the dead might begin until the relatives had redeemed the widow and children. The priests treated any sick whom they found, and purified the place where there had been plague; after this the people were permitted to return to their homes. Whenever the people saw dead rats in or about their houses, they fled away from the place, and sent offerings to the plague god, and asked the priests to come and purify their abode; they had learnt by experience that dead rats indicated a plague.

About eighteen years ago a child was born in Mengo without any limbs, and the relatives and friends fearing that it was the plague god who had returned, wished to strangle the child. The chief of the district, however, who was a Christian, saved it and brought it to the mission, and asked advice what to do with it; he was told to save its life and to have it nursed. The boy is still alive, he has learnt to read and is a Christian. It is a strange sight to see this youth when he

wishes to move about in a room; he rolls over and over, until he reaches the desired place, when he sits up. He is carried to and from his home by a hired attendant.

The fear of magic is intense; all classes alike dread its power, and never feel sure that they are free from its influence. In former times the most trivial circumstances, such as the walking over broken sticks, or a bone in the path would arouse suspicion; a thoughtless remark in conversation would throw a man into a nervous condition, and he would lose all interest in his surroundings, go home in a listless mood, fall sick and, unless the medicine-man could induce him to believe that the evil or magic had been removed or overcome, he would die. It was useless to try to persuade such a man that he need not be afraid; his belief in the power of magic was far too strong to enable him to cast it aside and treat the matter lightly; nothing but more potent magic sufficient to nullify the effect of the former would satisfy his imagination, and unless this was forthcoming, he would succumb to fear.

A definite case of the dread of magic recurs to my mind, that of a man who was wounded by a leopard. A leopard fought a large dog against the door of my house about ten o'clock one night, giving me an uncomfortable ten minutes, because I had no weapons in the room. I feared that the flimsy reed door would not bear the pressure of two large animals against it. After a brief struggle the poor dog was killed and carried off by the leopard. On the next morning I sent to the prime minister to request him to organise a hunt and kill the beast, as I did not care to have it secreted in my garden. The hunt duly took place, because (as I was informed) a woman had been carried off during the same night a little lower down the hill than my garden, and her remains were placed in the forked branches of a tree by a leopard after it had feasted upon her. Both leopards were hunted out and were killed within a short time of each other, but not before some of the beaters had been clawed. The mode of hunting wild beasts of this type is to call together hundreds of beaters, who assemble with clubs and encircle

the ground in which the animal is known to be in hiding. Drums are beaten and songs sung, as the men with their heavy clubs beat down grass and bushes in their advance, drawing in their circle, until at length they come upon the terrified animal and club it down. No guns or spears are allowed to be used during these hunts because of the danger to the beaters in the circle. In this particular hunt a leopard sprang upon the beaters and clawed three of the men on their heads. The wounded men were brought to me to have their scratches dressed; the worst case was that of a man clawed on his scalp, which was badly torn; the second man had wounds on the head, face, and shoulder, while the third had one claw wound in the neck. The first two men were cheerful, while the third was depressed. I told them to come again the next day, but the third man replied: "I won't come again, I am going to die." I tried to cheer him and told him that the wound was not serious; he, however, said that it was magic and that he would die, and he actually died during the night. The others came on the following day and told me that their companion was dead. It was a case of death from fright and the belief in the power of magic which we occasionally meet with.

## CHAPTER X

### SOCIOLOGY OF THE BAGANDA—A SECOND RISING OF THE SUDANESE

**T**HE sociology of the Baganda people is deeply interesting, though to an Englishman there is much that is perplexing. He is likely to misunderstand many of the customs, or to attribute much that is done to wrong causes, until he has been long enough in the country to be able to understand, according to native mode of thought, the reasons for a particular action. The Englishman must recognise the fact that most of the customs and relationships are different from his own.

Clan membership, with its wide range of relationship and binding conditions, has been of the greatest service to men and women, and it is a pity that the system is breaking down under the influence of Western culture. Blood relationship is patrilineal, with the great and most interesting exception to be mentioned later of the royal family, in whose case it is matrilineal; the father's clan becomes the clan of his children, irrespective of any maternal claims. Relationship under this system is reduced to five grades of age limitations; thus a man has two generations above him, that is to say, his father and the men of his father's age, all of whom he calls father, and his father's father with the men of that generation, whom he calls grandfather. The women of these generations have also their particular terms of recognition, which are equivalent to aunt and grandmother. In the man's own generation all men are his brothers, and all women his sisters, who are of the same clan. In the generation below him they are all his children, and in the generation below that, they are his grandchildren. A man may not marry those who are his cousins on his mother's side, that is the daughters of his mother's brothers, all of whom he calls mother, but his grandchildren may marry the mother's brother's grandchildren. A

man calls also his mother's sisters mother, and her parents grandparents, but the relationships on the female side are much more elastic and are sooner forgotten than those on the male side, and it is on the father's side that the relationship continues rigid, especially in regard to marriage. It was obligatory for a man who wished to marry a second wife, to marry a woman from the clan of his father's mother, and all the women of that clan stood to him in the relationship of grandmother. As a rule he sought out a young woman from his grandmother's clan, and she stood in the relationship of mother to his father, though through this marriage she became the latter's daughter-in-law. It is no uncommon thing for women to speak in strange terms of these extraordinary relationships; for example a woman may be heard to say that she is the mother of a man who has been dead for a hundred years; by which she merely means that a woman of her clan was the actual mother of the man; yet to herself the relationship is so intensely real as to enable her to disregard the lapse of time and to speak of it as though it were present.

These relationships were of the greatest value in deciding questions of marriage, and clan membership also gave a man the right to claim help from the most distant relative, who we might have said was no relative, but whom the native claimed through his totemic bond as a real blood relation.

Nothing new could be ascertained from the clans respecting the origin of totemism; what seems to have been a fact is that each clan claims a particular person as its father and retains his name; in some instances this father is recorded to have had more than one wife. Where there is more than one totem observed, the second seems to have been the totem of the mother and this became the secondary object of veneration for the children, the father's being the chief object. Each of these families held its own lands and for a period of many years held aloof from its neighbours, to this extent that no one occupied lands claimed by members of another family, nor permitted any person to settle upon its estates. From tradition and from the acknowledged

rights of clan burial grounds, there is no reason for thinking otherwise than that the clans had each their own districts, which were ruled by their head man whom they called father, and that the family owned no other authority than his, and paid taxes to him only. These clans lived on friendly terms with each other, and were exogamous, that is to say no man might marry a woman bearing the same totems as his own. The marriage relations kept the clans friendly, and sufficiently intimate to enable them to wish to live together amicably, and to seek each other's welfare. The national food has been that of plantains from prehistoric days; there is, however, a tradition that their forefather, who was the first man in existence, owned a cow and lived entirely upon the milk which the animal gave. No reliance can be placed upon this story as pointing to a period when the aborigines were pastoral, because the supposed forefather belonged to the princely caste, and, according to other traditions, the members of this caste were invaders and were most probably allied to the great family of pastoral people. The original inhabitants of the country, on the other hand, were all agricultural people, and their freehold lands are situated on hills thickly covered with plantain groves, whereas the pastoral peoples love the plains and grass lands, and avoid cultivation and all manual labour as being deleterious to their herds.

There are various theories propounded by the different clans as to the origin of their totems, but a careful investigation shows that the totem agrees with the life calling or occupation of the family; pastoral people had a predilection for the cow, for milk and dairy produce, and cows at different periods of their existence as totems, while agricultural people have a wide range of vegetable, animal, and insect life, and by no means limit their totemic objects to articles used as food. People living near the shores of the Victoria Nyanza include among their totemic objects reptiles and fishes and birds. Thus in the region of Uganda we find inedible birds, animals, reptiles, and plants used as totems, and this precludes the



old idea that the totem had to be guarded by a particular family, because it was a kind of food needing the protection and care of that family. Whatever the origin may have been, the social benefits were great, for not only were the marriage relations regulated by means of the totemic beliefs, but the numerous calls made by a member of a family upon others who bore the same totems, the financial help, the sympathetic assistance in sickness, and the communal rites were a great boon to the family. Claims for protection, for resisting unjust oppression or robbery, and especially punishment for murder, were enforced by the clan. Again the funeral obsequies and subsequent rites for the welfare of ghosts fell to the care of the clan in general, though the details belonged to the relatives more immediately concerned. Totemic rules bound the members together, and made the clan a family with rights and ties common to all. The possession of the totems showed who were the members of the clan; and the fear of the clan ghosts caused the members to obey the rules and regulations of the clan. The gods whose anger they feared, for any irregularity in the clan, were not the national gods, but the clan gods.

Women at marriage moved from the surroundings of their own clan and entered the clan of their husband; they were guarded and nursed previous to their confinement and for some time afterwards in the enclosures of their husband by females of his clan, whom he called sisters or mothers. The relationship of cousin is unknown; hence when a father's sister marries and has children, they are reckoned as of another clan, and in the second generation come within the permitted degrees of marriage.

Communism is still at work, both in regard to property, and also in the case of offspring. Children are the property of the clan, and until quite recently it was the custom to remove children when weaned from their parents, and to place them with a member of the clan, who was responsible for them, not indeed to the parents, but to the clan. It is doubtless due to this custom that a woman's eldest brother

and her uncle (father's brother) are the persons who on behalf of the clan arrange all her matrimonial affairs; these two men may act independently of her parents, if they wish to do so. Again, after death the property of the deceased is divided by the members of the clan, and is not necessarily given to his children; the elder of the clan seeks out the most suitable member of the clan for inheriting the property. Children are never orphaned in our sense of the term; they are never homeless, nor are they left without a guardian. It often happens that the death of a parent makes little difference to a child in regard to its surroundings, if it has been weaned, while the death of the man whom we should call its uncle, but whom the child calls father, and with whom it lives, entails greater changes, such as being moved to some other home.

According to an old custom, the members of a woman's clan have the right to every third child to which she gives birth, and claim it; it is held by them as a slave, unless it is redeemed by the father or some other member of his clan. The custom has already been mentioned which compels a man to take as his second wife a woman from the clan of his father's mother, and that she stands to him in the relationship of grandmother; this does not mean that the woman must necessarily be an elderly person; she may be, and usually is, a girl, but she claims by clan relationship to be mother to her husband's father. The duties of this second wife are to shave her husband's head and cut his nails, and to take care that the clippings do not fall into the hands of an enemy who might use them for magical purposes.

In the households of important chiefs with large harems there were often men and women who found opportunities to meet and to become enamoured of each other; it was therefore customary to keep a strict guard over the wives, and, as each wife had her own hut, to enclose these huts in strongly fenced compounds. The care thus taken greatly reduced the number of cases of adultery, while the severe punishment meted out to any couple found guilty caused



both men and women to restrain their passions. If a man became enamoured of any woman and wished to visit her, he generally preferred to do so by night, reaching the house by some cunning device, sometimes by scaling the fences, at other times by crawling along the water gutters under the fences. He went armed, and if he was disturbed when in the house, he took the offensive and speared down any man who entered where he was. A man who thus visited a married woman's house was not called an adulterer, but a murderer; in like manner an unfaithful wife was called a murderess. In the case of the man the term was used, because he was ready to kill the husband if he appeared on the scene, and in the case of the woman, because by her conduct she alienated the gods from her husband, and exposed him to every misfortune, in addition to bringing in a man who might possibly attack and kill him. Death, with tortures of a terrible nature, was the punishment exacted upon the guilty parties when they were discovered.

Until the reign of Mwanga it was the custom for one or two of his wives to accompany the king into court, and frequently several princesses also sat behind him. These ladies had special duties assigned to them, for they were present as the particular guards of their lord; one held his shield, another had charge of his spears, others had his drinking cups and wine, but one and all had to keep special watch over the crowds of men in court, to see that no attempt was made upon his life. They were ready to warn him and to help him, should he need assistance. In like manner a chief in his own household with his daily assemblage of friends or servants imitated the court fashion, and had his wives to sit by him. These ladies were the cause of constant trouble to menservants, for, when a wife spoke to them, they would glance at her and so rouse jealous suspicions in the husband's heart, with the result that he often had the men mutilated. When a man came to speak with his master, he knelt down in front of him, to tell him his business or to receive orders; if, during this time, he allowed his eyes to

wander towards these ladies, he would be accused of unchaste motives, and would have his eyes gouged out for this careless behaviour. Protests of innocence were in vain under such a charge; the chief was too powerful to be resisted, and the minions of the powerful lord were all too ready to carry out any such command; hence the words of the servant were of little avail.

We may here conveniently introduce the subject of the royal descent. It was stated above that royalty did not adhere to the custom followed by the ordinary people of taking the totems of their father. This statement needs further explanation, because on the one hand the royal totems, the lion and leopard, were widely used, and these were transmitted from the king's father, but, on the other hand, every prince or princess was known among the people by his or her mother's totems. A few clans were prohibited from giving their daughters in marriage to the king; if any woman from such a clan was taken by the king in marriage (and sometimes he used his kingly power to marry such a woman), any child whom she might have was strangled at birth, or possibly the woman might say that she belonged to another clan. Apart from these few prohibited clans, all clans frequently gave wives to the king, and were glad to send their daughters to the royal residence, hoping that they would become mothers, and that their son might be the future king, and thus be able to help the clan in material things. The official marriage of the king took place at his accession; he might indeed have several wives before this time, all of whom would be women from the clans, that is to say commoners; but the official wife had to be a daughter of the king's father. In other words the queen had to be a princess, and if possible a daughter of the king's father by a different mother, that is his half sister. The queen was not expected to have children, though she sometimes became a mother. She had her own residence built at a short distance from the royal enclosure, and separated from it by a running stream. She also held the same title as her husband, that of Kabaka, which is commonly

translated "king," but is really a word of neuter gender, and is applied to the king, the queen, the dowager queen, and the king's mother, the last named woman being a commoner who is raised to the position of Kabaka when her son becomes king. This word Kabaka is often used by peasants when speaking of any person who is freed from state labour and taxation, and a man of whom we should say that he was given the freedom of a city becomes a Kabaka.

The king might take any of his sisters into his harem in addition to the queen, but in their cases there were no marriage ceremonies; they came, as did other women, by mutual agreement to be his wives. All other princesses were forbidden by law to marry or to have children, and the penalty of death was inflicted for any transgression. This prohibition of marriage to princesses led to gross immorality, and princesses were commonly regarded as the most immoral class of women in the country, a belief which had good ground for its universal acceptance. The young women from the various clans who were taken by the king as wives were treated with great respect by the whole community, and when one of them became a mother the event added to her dignity, her clan members being particularly proud thereof. Most of these ladies had titles given to them by the king, and were placed in good houses of their own, with maids and slaves to wait upon them. There were three of these women who were held in special honour, the chief of them being the wife who had charge of the fetishes and other religious emblems; she was known as the "little slave of the god," Kadulubare. The other two women were Nasaza, whom we might call "hairdresser," and Kabeja, "little princess." This latter wife was always a favourite; she was chosen for her good looks and general bearing; but the difficulty of her position was that she was liable to be displaced, if she offended her lord in any trifling matter. The wife Nasaza was always chosen from the clan of the king's father's mother, and was a woman to whom he gave the name grandmother, as was frequently done by the common people. The son of any woman whom

the king married was eligible for the throne, unless she belonged to one of the prohibited clans.

•According to the most reliable information obtainable, the females outnumbered the males; the birth-rate is said to have been, two females to one male. In addition to this difference in the birth-rate, men had a much harder life than women, and they ran many more risks of death, both from warfare, and also from being captured as victims for sacrificial purposes, though this latter risk was not limited to men, but affected women also. Women were thus left in the majority, and polygamy seemed to be the only means of providing them with husbands, and the only safeguard against promiscuous sexual habits. For the common necessities of life a woman did not require a man to provide for her, on the contrary a woman provided food for the males of a house; one woman, with an ordinary garden of plantains, could in olden times provide food for three men without undue exertion. When Christianity introduced monogamy and broke down the old social customs, hundreds of women were rendered husbandless, without the former rigid restrictions to protect them against their sexual desires; and when the new hut taxes imposed by the British Government made it impossible for chiefs to provide homes for their clan relatives, hundreds of women were left to face the problems of life without any special guardian. This freedom of women led to terrible immorality, and up to the present no solution has been found to heal the dreadful sore, though various remedies are being tried. On the other hand the conditions of married life are better, because under the new customs a wife holds a more honoured position in the home than formerly, and further the birth-rate of children, the offspring of married women, has increased, while the proportion of males and females among the infants, we are assured, is becoming equalised. Not only is this so, but with the more enlightened methods, and the care given at the mission hospitals during the "lying-in" periods, the death-rate of infants has been greatly reduced.

A dreadful evil has entered the country in the form of venereal disease, brought by a low class of Indian traders and shopkeepers who, having left their wives behind, or it may be having never been married, have taken Baganda women as wives during their stay in Uganda. These men have passed the sickness on to the women whom they induced to live with them, and the latter have spread it with terrible results; the disease is working great havoc and undermining the constitution of the natives. Another evil which appeared with the decline of the old customs, has been that of the cessation of cultivation of large areas of country. Every woman had, under the old régime, a plot of land assigned to her at marriage, which she diligently worked for her husband, and which she looked upon as her own in right of her marriage; she would not appeal to her husband for help in cultivating this plot, but would leave him free to carry out his own duties for the state, such as building in the royal enclosure, road-making, and fighting in the frequent wars of the country. Tilling the land was considered to be woman's work and unsuitable for a man, especially the management of the plantain plot. When women ceased to live in communities as the wives of chiefs or other free men, or as dependents upon rich relatives, they also ceased to till the land; thus large tracts of country which had been under cultivation ran wild; while the women gave themselves up to idleness and the gratification of their worst passions.

In the early years of Christian missions, no special study had been made of the native customs, and little was known of the inner native life, hence no missionary thought that any serious evil would result from enforcing monogamy upon a pagan nation which had practised polygamy. The numerous social difficulties, also the physical condition of the women, and the paramount desire of a woman to become a mother, were elements not considered by the missionaries. They realised that a woman need not be destitute because she remained unmarried, but this was only one factor among many which should have been carefully considered before

the old customs were cast aside. It is quite certain that, could it have been foreseen what the results of the policy adopted would be, the missionaries would have hesitated, and have sought some other method for bringing about the necessary reforms. The Christian Church has to face a difficult problem to-day, namely to lead the remnant of the nation from the morass of evil to the sure ground of purity and progress; yet there is every reason for thinking that all will come right in time. The Baganda are good material to work upon, and much may be expected from such a nation, though the difficulties to be faced are enormous, and call for the wisest leaders and men with dauntless courage.

It is from material such as has been described above that some of the most devoted workers in modern days have been found for the work of native missionaries; men whose ancestors for generations have been ready to die for what they considered the good of their country, and have never hesitated to give themselves over even to horrible forms of death for the furtherance of the cause of their nation. So far as the youths of the land have been tested educationally, they have shown abilities equal to those of English schoolboys, while in learning trades or other ordinary callings in life they have been quite equal to the average man. In their religious principles they have proved themselves to be superior to others; their willingness to undertake a long and wearisome sojourn among people of other tongues and different customs, with little or no provision made for them, and without support from their base, to live with men of decidedly inferior abilities, and to give up home and country, prove the genuineness of their Christian profession. Further, they have risked their lives in the cause of humanity, and many of them have died owing to their dauntless courage in trying to help their fellow men who were suffering from one of the terrible contagious diseases which have swept over the country, such as sleeping sickness. They have accepted trying conditions in order to help those who a few years ago would not have called forth their sympathy, because not of their own tribal clan.



But it is not only these men who have made it their life's work to serve their country as teachers whom we must credit with the wonderful progress and development of Uganda; we must also think of hundreds of chiefs of sterling quality, who have worked together nobly for the good of their fellow men and their country. Conspicuous among these Sir Apolo Kagwa, the prime minister, stands out as a leader, not only in religious matters, but also in civil and political life; he has been a wise guide and faithful leader in everything that would lead to progressive development. He has ever been ready to take an active share even in menial work that would be for the good of the country; after hours spent in court with the consideration of complicated questions of government, he would be found writing the minutes of meetings with the results of their discussions, or possibly building a house, making a staircase, or fashioning windows and doors. He was also able to fit his house with electric bells, he learnt to ride a bicycle, and he introduced habits of progress and comfort into the small matters of daily life, while during business hours in court he was introducing enlightened measures for governing the country, under the guidance of British officers. In more recent years he has obtained a printing press, and has issued various booklets, giving the history of the country, with many valuable details concerning former kings and clans with their peculiarities, together with other useful information. In addition to these booklets he has published official pamphlets and papers for the guidance of chiefs and other persons in authority who in the heart of the country may be cut off from the help and guidance of the British officials. From the same press suggestions on cotton growing, rubber cultivation, the treatment of cattle diseases, and so forth, have gone into every district, written by Sir Apolo from information supplied by the Government authorities, or drawn up under his supervision, and sent by him to every chief who could help the people to carry out these instructions. Yet in spite of all these labours he has ever been studying new ideas for his personal improve-

ment, has collected information about his own people and his ancestors, and has found leisure to show attentions to travellers and friends, and not least to attend to family worship, Bible study, and religious services.

Sir Apolo was in England for the coronation of King Edward VII, and was the worthy recipient of knighthood, an honour which both he and his people value highly. For years this valued friend placed a room in his house at my disposal, where every evening I could meet old people who were best able to impart knowledge of the past, and to give me information concerning the secrets of primitive worship which they would not have divulged under other circumstances. While Sir Apolo deservedly stands at the head of his nation, he is wisely and ably supported by a large number of capable men, whose lives will bear the closest inspection, and who will become more illustrious the better they are known.

One of the greatest boons to Uganda has been the native hospital, so efficiently managed by the brothers Drs. A. R. and J. H. Cook; by their zeal and personal efforts a building with eighty-five beds for natives suffering from general diseases, and a building with thirty-nine beds for sufferers from contagious diseases, also a block for Indians with twelve beds, and another for Europeans with ten beds, have been raised. The beds in these blocks of buildings are constantly full, and it is no exaggeration to say that hundreds of lives are saved yearly by the skill of these indefatigable men and their staff. The amount of suffering that has been relieved by these devoted men has been immense, while most difficult operations have been skilfully carried out by them, and scientific information, the result of their research work, has been given to the medical world. In addition to the hospital there is a large dispensary, where some two hundred patients daily seek and receive assistance. This new and useful dispensary was built through the munificence of Mr Wellcome (of Messrs Burroughs and Wellcome), who is doing so much for Africa. It is not only doing wonderful things for suffering humanity, but is also undertaking the most painstaking research work

in tropical diseases, so that medical science throughout the world is being benefited. Yet with all this work so methodically carried on, the spiritual side is never overlooked, but is always first; the medical staff is pre-eminently a missionary staff.

The reputation of these men has deservedly spread far and wide; the fear and superstitious dread of the natives have been broken down, and now men and women are brought long distances in search of treatment. The one great need is workers who might set the leaders free to train the natives for the profession. It is only a few years since amputations have become possible, for the native idea was that the loss of a limb involved a similar loss to the ghost, and that such mutilation debarred the ghost from joining its clan members. This belief made more terrible the frequently inflicted punishment of mutilation for various offences, such as theft and adultery. The person whose hand was hacked off was known as a thief, the person whose eye was gouged out was known as an adulterer, while the loss of an ear was the mark of stubborn disobedience. These marks gave the unfortunate person pain and inconvenience in this life, cutting him off from all chance of promotion and degrading him to a low social position, while in the next world his ghost was expelled from the society of his relatives. These beliefs hindered surgical work, because men preferred to die with a limb intact rather than to live without it; and patience, sympathy, and Christian perseverance, were necessary to overcome such prejudice and superstition.

We now pass to the second rising of the Sudanese which had far more serious consequences than the first, in that it not only resulted in greater loss of native life, but also in the loss of a number of Englishmen. This rising also took place owing to the discontented spirit of the Sudanese troops, who had gradually returned to their old position as government troops, after having been degraded for some time. My own part in this rising was but small, as I only returned to the country towards the end of the trouble, having been on

furlough in England, and I was journeying up country when the fighting was at its height. On our arrival at Mombasa the report reached us that there was a rising in Uganda; with difficulty a few porters were secured for the small party which accompanied me, and we left hurriedly for the interior, before orders were issued to stop travellers from proceeding up country. The route we were to take was through the country occupied by the Masai, commonly known as the northern route, through which the railway now runs. Only one or two incidents worthy of note happened during the journey, and these showed the unsettled state of the country. The first incident occurred when we were near Kavirondo; here we came upon a tribe in arms, but, after we had seen the chief and administered a little medicine to him and dressed a bad ulcer on his leg, he not only gave us liberty to pass through his country, but also supplied all our needs, giving us food, fire-wood, and water; and his enmity against the British was removed, and goodwill restored. The second trouble came when we reached the British fort in Kavirondo, where all our porters were pressed into the service of the troops for the assistance of transport into Busoga. We, however, were taken down to Lake Victoria, and left stranded on the shore in a deserted fort, to try to secure canoes or other means for reaching Uganda. The place was new to me, and I found that none of the tribes near us possessed canoes, nor would they act as porters; to add to our trouble, we discovered that our barter goods were not acceptable to these people. Fortunately for us, after a few days a small steamer came from Uganda, bringing a sick missionary and his wife, who were going down country; so we gladly availed ourselves of the opportunity of a passage in the steamer to cross to Uganda. We thus reached the capital, Mengo, in less time than we should have taken, had we travelled round the lake on foot with our original party and experienced no delay.

In this Sudanese rebellion the Baganda lost heavily. On one occasion they tried to rush a fort in Busoga, in which the rebels were lodged. The Sudanese who possessed a Maxim

gun waited until the Baganda were within short range, when they opened fire, and mowed down some hundreds of these brave warriors before any could escape. The British suffered terribly from the want of ammunition and arms, as the rebels had secured a large part of the supplies before they mutinied. My friend and co-worker, G. L. Pilkington, famous for his linguistic abilities and for his translation of the Bible into Luganda, fell in this rising; he was acting as an interpreter and helping the forces generally. The brother of Macdonald also fell on the same day, almost at the same hour; both these men lie side by side in the cathedral ground at Namirembe, whither their bodies were brought some time after the rising was quelled. It was during this Sudanese rebellion that Mwanga, the king of Uganda, fled and joined the rebels in the district of Budu in southern Uganda; here the rebels consisted mainly of Baganda who wished to throw off the restraints of the British Government and join the Sudanese. For several months this part of the country had been known to be unsettled, before the Sudanese rose. But this disturbance could not be dealt with efficiently owing to the greater rebellion, and measures had to be delayed until the Sudanese rising had been suppressed. At length the rebel troops were overcome, and the Baganda forces were free to deal with their own countrymen.

Under the leadership of two or three British officers, the natives then began to attack Mwanga and his followers, who had by this time joined Kabarega, the rebel king of Bunyoro in the Nile region. There was no serious fighting between these two kings and the loyal Baganda; it was rather a series of skirmishes, by means of which the supporters of the kings endeavoured to keep back the loyal troops when they had discovered the hiding places of the fugitives, until the kings could escape to some further place of safety. At length the rebel kings were brought to a stand, and were no longer able to escape, their place of hiding having been made known by some of their followers who turned traitors. In a battle which followed the king of Bunyoro fought

bravely, until one of his arms was shot through and so shattered that he could no longer hold his gun; afterwards the arm had to be amputated. Both the kings were captured and taken to Mengo, and from thence were exiled to the Seychelles. Mwanga died there, but Kabarega is still living on these islands. He is now a Christian, having been taught by some of his people who went to minister to him in exile.

At the time of Mwanga's flight one of his wives, who was left behind, gave birth to a son, and this child lived; he was the first child of Mwanga who lived for more than a few hours. Another wife of Mwanga gave birth to a son later on, and this child is also living. These two sons of Mwanga are now grown up, the eldest having been elected by the Government as king. The chiefs, Sir Apolo Kagwa, Zakiriya Kisingire, and Silasi Mugwanya, were appointed regents to administer the country during the king's minority under the supervision of the British Government. Daudi Chwa, the prince chosen by the British Government as king, has been educated by an English tutor appointed by the Government. In Bunyoro a grown-up son of Kabarega was appointed to succeed his father, but he soon showed that he was not a fit person to rule; he was therefore deposed, and another son was placed on the throne who still reigns. It was during these troublous times that the natives of Uganda began to show that they were really anxious not only to advance their own countrymen in religious and secular knowledge, but also to carry Christianity into other countries where previously they had never been except to fight, plunder, and raid the people. The few men chosen to begin the work of evangelists had a very uphill task, because the people to whom they went only knew the Baganda as their old foes, and naturally distrusted them; and they also put every possible obstacle in their way, firmly believing that their real object was to obtain information and to betray them to their enemies. They would have killed them, but they feared to do so under the new régime; they refused, however, to house them, they tried to starve them, and they boycotted them; yet all in vain: the teachers

remained and slowly won their way and gained the confidence of the people. This work of evangelisation is still going forward, the number of workers having grown from a few men into thousands. In addition to the evangelists there are secular schools with masters, all of whom are supported by the native church independently of European help. Missionaries are lent to them for special duties of supervision or education. The elementary schools are at work in the country districts, while in the capital there is an excellent secondary school which has done much to give better class boys a more thorough education. More recently a still higher school for boys has been opened, and is conducted on the principles of an English Public School. There is a great future before this institution, which has already proved itself useful to the Government in supplying interpreters, clerks, and other trustworthy servants, besides having educated the numbers of young chiefs and secretaries to chiefs. The girls of the country are also being cared for, and have a High School, where they are taught, not only to become efficient wives, able to assist their husbands and to take their place as educated women in a family, but also to know useful domestic arts, such as cooking, housekeeping, and needle work, while they are also kept in touch with their old work of cultivation. In time past women were never expected to use a needle or to know how to make any garment; their work was to cultivate, to cook in a rude way, and occasionally to sweep out the house and recarpet it with sweet-scented grass. It was the work of the men to prepare bark-cloth, and to stitch the pieces together for a woman's mantle. When calico and cotton goods were introduced, the men still made the garments at first, and the only new occupation which women learnt was mat-making and some new kinds of basketry. Some of the old baskets were of fine texture, neatly woven with coloured strands, which were worked into artistic patterns.

## CHAPTER XI

### NATIVE GOVERNMENT—REDISTRIBUTION OF LAND

IN the last chapter we noticed some of the unfortunate effects which were caused by the changes in social institutions; the sudden change from a polygamous to a monogamous life had not been sufficiently thought out, nor had adequate provision been made to meet the break-down of the old laws, which restrained society by fear ensuring moral conduct. Women, for example, were not strong enough in the faith of their new religion to resist sensual desires; they were not prepared to live pure and upright lives without the support of the strong arm of primitive custom and law, or the fear of the husband whom they had lost, and since no other provision had been made for them, they fell away into unchaste habits. When they were liberated from the old status of drudgery and slavery of a heathen wife, and an attempt was made to raise them to a higher level as wives of Christian men, in accordance with Christian ideas, they took unfair advantage of their freedom. In some cases a wife became a burden and a source of worry to her husband, and instead of being a help to him, she became extravagant in her dress, aping Western ideas, while in other cases where husbands had set free their wives to remarry according to Christian rule, and husbands could not be found for them, they yielded to their worst passions, and proved a scourge to the nation.

One of the great aims of the missionaries has been to give the people some idea of the happiness of home life; parents have been induced to keep their children at home instead of sending them away to relatives, in conformity with the old heathen custom of handing them over to their clan elders; and they have been advised to train them according to Christian principles. This task, utterly foreign to the nation, is still being urged, and it is beginning to show good results in certain directions; it has, however, many disadvantages



which time alone will overcome. In many Christian homes, as in all heathen homes, the education of girls has been looked upon with distrust and disfavour; it has taken years to make parents realise their duty to their daughters in this respect, for it was thought that boys alone had mental ability and needed to be educated, whereas girls were incapable of thought and needed no mental culture. There were some remarkably clever women with natural abilities, who quickly mastered the art of reading and writing, as soon as the authorities permitted them to learn; these were, however, the exceptions, the vast majority being lazy and ignorant, except in purely domestic matters in which respect they showed considerable skill. The writer well remembers one of Mwanga's wives sending a little girl to him with the request that he should write a letter to herself. The request seemed strange, and was unwillingly granted, perhaps mainly in order to be freed from the child's presence. After some three or four months the same child appeared again with a letter said to have come from her mistress; this letter was a puzzle to me, and I supposed that it was my former letter returned. The child, however, persisted in saying that she saw her mistress write it; and after further questioning it became evident that the mistress had in the first instance wanted a letter from me as a copy, in order to learn to write. For weeks she had been diligently writing and rewriting that letter, until at length the copy was so perfect that it might be taken for the original. Some women were very diligent and painstaking in their desire for mental culture, while others only wished to learn to read, though in other respects they were exemplary wives, diligent in household duties. On the other hand, many women whose husbands desired to raise them above the old level, tried to dress extravagantly, brought their husbands into debt with Indian shopkeepers, and mismanaged their homes. A severe trial which awaited many women and caused discontent among them, arose from the isolation to which they were exposed by being left unprotected in distant parts of the country during the enforced absence of their husbands, who

were taken to some labour station, to fulfil a term of work for the Government.

Owing to the wars and rebellions during Mwanga's reign the male population was greatly reduced, and when the king fled the country, he further diminished the number, and left the land with only a child for its king. About this time new tracts of country had been added to the kingdom, and a number of new chieftainships had been established, which demanded an increased number of peasants for the cultivation of these lands, but they were not forthcoming; and not only so, but there were fewer women available than had ever been in the past. The abolition of slavery had already considerably reduced the number of women on the land, and now the disorganisation of the old polygamous system reduced the number of workers still further, and that at a time when there was a need of an increase rather than a decrease of labourers.

To understand how the new land regulations affected the country, it is necessary to give a brief account of the government.

Before the British came, the king was in reality an autocrat, though his usual policy was more democratic than it is often thought to have been. For example, the principal chiefs were usually consulted, and were also allowed in almost every instance, when necessity arose, to nominate a man for any vacant office. This body of principal rulers was in some respects like our House of Lords; their official position gave them the right to sit in council, to discuss the most private questions of the day, and submit their decisions to the king, who rarely rejected them.

In public meetings, held either in the prime minister's court or in the royal courts, to discuss social problems, peasants did not hesitate to stand up and give their opinions in the matter under discussion; the humblest person had the right to be present, and to make himself heard when an important question, which would affect him, was being considered. In all these meetings of the various courts a

certain etiquette was followed which no man dared infringe; thus, no man ever sat on a raised seat, but always on a rug or mat, while nearness to the king was reserved for the more important chiefs. Again, no man would dare to step upon the king's rug or even to brush against it, for then he would have incurred instant death. Further, no man dared sneeze or blow his nose in court; such acts indicated colds, which were infectious, and a danger to the life of the sovereign; any infringement of these rules was punishable by fine or even by death. The king alone sat on a raised seat, which in early days was a mound of beaten earth, and was later surmounted by a stool covered with a beautifully dressed rug composed of lion and leopard skins, these being the skins of the royal totemic animals. Chiefs sat on cow-skin or on antelope-skin rugs, which were well dressed and supple; in later days prettily woven mats, made by women from the fronds of palm leaves and dyed red and black, were introduced into the country by coast traders, and used by chiefs to sit on. The art of dressing skins had reached a high standard; there were men who gave the whole of their time to this work and to the making of sandals from buffalo hide; these sandals were worn by royalty and chiefs alone, while poorer people went bare-footed.

A variety of materials for dress were used. The custom of wearing clothes had advanced from the small skin of the goat worn round the waist by married women when away from home, to the mantle of skins stitched together; the bark-cloth robe was next introduced and enforced upon all classes, and later the use of calico and fine linen garments, with hand embroidery on them, like the smocking on farm labourers' smocks, became the clothing of the better classes of society. There was a time, little beyond the memory of those now living, when neither sex wore clothing, the only article worn being an apron for men, used especially for sitting upon, while the women went about naked. Clothing, that is to say the bark-cloth, was not introduced so much from a sense of decency, as because it became a source of revenue

to the state.' A former king ordered the people to plant trees of the kind from which bark-cloth is made, and appointed them a set time when they were to begin to wear clothing, and any infringement of this order was punished by a fine. The bark-cloth has from that date onwards been one of the chief national assets in the annual taxation of the country, and has also supplied the needs of the nation, both for wearing apparel and for bed clothing. We must not forget the fact that the possession of clothing in primitive countries is no guide to the state of morality, though as civilisation enters any place, clothing is introduced. It is the social and religious customs of a nation with their concomitant beliefs which regulate morality. Thus, in some parts, it may be said that the people are most careful about clothing, and yet are immoral. Again, the code of morality differs considerably; in some places there is free and unrestrained sexual intercourse between unmarried people, whereas a married woman is strictly confined to her husband, and death is the punishment for any breach of the rule; in other tribes young women are carefully guarded against intercourse with males until their marriage, but from that time restrictions are removed, and a wife is expected to welcome her husband's guests to her couch. In each case it will be found that the religious ideas of the tribe regulate the standard of morality, defining what is, and what is not, a legitimate moral act, and the fear of ghostly punishment for a transgression has greater effect than any punishment which the government may inflict.

This brings us to the period of evolution in Uganda, when skins of animals ceased to be articles of clothing, and came to be used as rugs to sit upon; now both men and women are carefully clothed, either in bark-cloth or in calico garments, and the body is covered to an extent which would satisfy Western ideas of decency.

Whenever the king took his seat in the court, there were two men seated behind him, whose duty it was to support his chair and to steady it, lest it should topple over; and behind these men two or three wives of the king sat, listened

to all that was said, and kept an eye upon all present, to warn their lord, if necessary, of any danger. The presence of these women was a survival of the barbarous days when the wife was the most natural person to guard her husband, and to warn him of any approaching danger, should there be any cause for suspicion. The king had two royal spears, one made of copper and the other of brass, placed within his reach, ready for any emergency; it is related that in former days he did not hesitate to use them, if he was contradicted or crossed by any person in court. In later days it was, however, seldom necessary for the king to assert himself, for few men would dare to utter a word against their lord; and had any man done so, he would have been struck down at once by some of the retainers, or by one of the royal bodyguard stationed about in the hall. During the sitting of the court there were numbers of this special police-force or bodyguard standing about among the assembled crowds; they were armed with spears, and had a coil of rope twisted round their heads like a turban; the rope was intended to bind any man whom the king might order them to seize.

At these public sittings every kind of business was discussed, and the meetings were enlivened by amusing accounts of current events, or stories of huntsmen who had escaped death from some animal in the chase, and also by the exhibition of any peculiar growth of vegetables. Six to eight hours was the usual time for a meeting to last; the people began to assemble about eight o'clock in the morning, and remained in council until about two o'clock in the afternoon, when the king rose and ended the meeting. The royal brewers supplied a quantity of plantain beer for these gatherings; it was placed ready for the gathering in a hut near the reception hall, and guarded by special attendants, who doled it out to the chiefs and to their retainers, whenever they wished to refresh themselves during the hours when the court was sitting. In these meetings the king learnt about his kingdom, and gained such accurate knowledge of the country that he could describe distant places with minute detail; this enabled

him to rule with great wisdom, and to decide matters concerning places which he had never visited; it also gave him an intelligent interest in the country, advantageous to the needs of the people. He also learnt in these meetings to gauge the feeling of the country accurately, and if any chief absented himself for more than two meetings in succession without special permission, the cause had to be made known; it was an old custom to regard as a rebel any chief who absented himself from a meeting; the latter was called to account for his absence, and even if he was pardoned, he had to pay a fine for his discourtesy. Absence from court assemblies in the days when princes were allowed to remain alive, invariably pointed to some plot, or some rebellion which was being hatched by the chief in connection with one of the princes. The more influential chiefs were obliged to lead the greater part of their lives in the capital, so as to be near the king, to help in case of need, and to take part in the government, leaving their estates to the care of some trusted relative or friend. The man who managed the estate of a chief took the title of the master during the period he acted for him; he tried and decided cases unless they were of a serious nature, in which case he sent them to the chief.

When it became necessary for a chief to go into the country, he first obtained the king's permission to absent himself from court, and next appointed his representative in the capital, who appeared at any gatherings of the court in his stead, bearing his title and watching over his interests. Many amusing mistakes have been made by Englishmen who did not know this custom of a chief appointing a representative, and sometimes the mistakes became serious. For instance, on one occasion when certain carriers who had been employed by a British Government official, represented to him that part of their pay had been withheld by an important chief, whereas they meant the representative; the officer was naturally annoyed, because the work done had given him satisfaction, and he had sent special pay for the men. The accused chief was called and questioned, and he truthfully

said that he did not know anything about the deduction, but that he would investigate the matter. Thereupon the officer, not understanding the custom of appointing a representative who bore his master's title, denounced the chief as a thief and a liar, and it required some explanation to reinstate him in the officer's confidence and good opinion. In another instance, where an officer thought that he had complete evidence of a chief's guilt in some particular matter, he wished to have the man, though he was really innocent, deposed from his chieftainship, because the latter truthfully said that he did not know anything about the offence with which he was charged, and the officer did not understand the custom of representatives. Fortunately the incident was related to a person who understood native customs; he suggested further enquiries being made, with the result that the chief's representative was found to be the culprit.

Let us retrace our steps to the king's court and his receptions, which were held at short intervals of a few days. There were no divisions of days into weeks; the new moon alone served to divide the year into months, and the year was marked by the rains, which came at the end of six months, so that a year consisted of six moons, and a moon of twenty-eight days. At the appearance of each moon there was a rest of at least one day, though in some places it lasted for several days, and at one or two temples it was marked by a cessation of work for nine days while special worship was enacted. The new moon was the time for special ceremonies, the most important being the meeting of the king's officers, when many royal fetishes were presented, and the particular fetish called the "twin," the stump of the umbilical cord of the king, was brought before his majesty in solemn procession and presented to him by the guardian of the sacred relics. In these monthly ceremonies the king showed himself to be the head of the whole religious worship.

Apart from the general receptions it was difficult for any one to see the king; even the most important chiefs had to go

through a tedious process of waiting and being announced, and sometimes the waiting lasted a whole day, before they were taken into the royal presence; while unimportant chiefs and peasants might go day after day, and wait from early morning until evening, hoping to receive the necessary invitation to be allowed to lay some private matter before his majesty. The only comfort these waiting visitors had was the society of other companions in waiting, for they were seldom alone, and there were generally several others on similar errands, with whom they might converse. It was easier and on the whole more satisfactory for people to see the prime minister, and lay their matters before him, and leave him to take their cases to the king; there were, however, times when men preferred to wait and present their petitions to the king personally, when they hoped to gain royal favour by some gift. When any person of note was admitted to the king, a man, who was a special drummer, beat a peculiar rhythm on his drum, and made a deep growling noise, like that of a lion, as the visitor entered and passed in to the king. I have never been able to discover the purpose of this drum, though I still think that it had some ceremonial significance.

People visiting the prime minister were sure to receive a meal, if they were detained until the meal hour, because it was one of the features of his office to keep open house and to serve meals to all who came into his enclosure; and servants, even the most menial, received a meal as well as their masters. One of the most pleasant phases of Uganda life in those old days was the hospitality of all classes; every family was expected to receive even the passing stranger and to provide him with food, so that no one ever went away hungry; no matter in what part of the country he was travelling, a man was always sure of a meal, and, if necessary, of a place in which he might pass the night. It was impolite, indeed positively rude, to stand and gaze upon people when they were at a meal, and it was not polite or customary to salute a family or to ask them how they were, while they



were eating. The proper course was to approach the party, when the host would at once invite the visitor to share the meal, and when it was ended, the guest would salute the host and the other persons present.

When, therefore, litigants went to the prime minister and were kept waiting while other cases were being tried, they would not be forgotten at meal time. The inevitable change which has taken place, owing to the country having become a Protectorate, and through advancing trade and commerce, has obliterated the pleasant old custom of hospitality. Chiefs now have their meals in private, when only friends can approach them; and they seldom ask anyone except special friends to share their meal. Again, chiefs have now to buy food, and they find it difficult to supply even those dependent on them with the necessary daily provisions, so that hospitality is perforce limited. In the enclosures of chiefs the men had their meals apart from the women, though the wife of a chief usually acted as waitress and dished up the mashed plantain food; sometimes she would divide it, and give a portion to each person, and add to it if necessary, and if there was butcher's meat, she would cut it up and hand it round; she also provided sponges for washing the hands before and after the meal. Every chief was a magistrate in his own district, even if his chieftainship was of little importance, and he was only raised above the status of an ordinary free man by having a small estate with four or five tenants. The more important chiefs were accorded great honour when they visited their country residences; they sat daily in their court houses, and received visitors from every part of their district; men of every rank with all kinds of business came to visit them, reported the progress of the district and talked over small news. When there were no cases to be tried, the chief sat with his guests and talked over the news of the country, or told his people the affairs of the capital. As writing was unknown, everything was committed to memory, and both historical and geographical facts were remembered and retold with great accuracy; besides having a retentive memory

these people were gifted with rhetorical powers, which made their conversation interesting and instructive.

The cases for trial were chiefly confined to matters concerning property, magic, matrimonial disputes, and theft; in a large district there was always some person wanting to go to law. In most cases chiefs had the power of life and death, hence it behoved the relatives of an accused person to use all the influence and power of the clan at his trial, because, should a chief condemn a man to death, and the sentence be carried out, he would seldom be called to account for his action. Still, any man who was tried in any inferior court had the right to appeal to a higher court, and it was the imperative duty of the relatives of a condemned person to take prompt steps, if they wished to avail themselves of any such right of appeal, and save the prisoner from death. There were court fees to be paid before a case would receive a hearing. The punishment inflicted by inferior courts was invariably a fine, which was graduated according to the gravity of the offence; the successful litigant received the greater part of the fine imposed, the remainder went to the state. There were no prisons, and therefore fines were the easiest method and also the most remunerative form of punishment; there were, however, occasions when men were put into the stocks, for instance, when they failed, either from inability or from disinclination, to pay the fine, in which case they were detained until the amount was paid. In more serious cases, especially for the crime of adultery, mutilation or death was the summary punishment. The common stocks were made by boring a hole through a log of wood large enough for the foot of the culprit to be thrust through it, and he was prevented from withdrawing it by a peg being driven through the log at right angles to the hole, thus narrowing the aperture, so that the foot could not be removed until the peg was cut out. When a prisoner thus detained wished to move, he had to carry the log by means of a string tied to it, thus relieving his foot of some of the weight. This method of detention lessened the amount of close watching to prevent

a prisoner from escaping which otherwise would have been required. During the period of detention a prisoner had to find his own food; it was part of his punishment to do this, or go hungry.

An interesting feature frequent in cases of imprisonment was that men could, and often did, bribe their custodian to release them for some hours; the prisoner would then visit some relative or friend, with the object of securing assistance to effect his permanent release. He would be released by his keeper at dusk and would make a rapid visit, under cover of the darkness, to one or other of his relatives and ask for help, and would return before daylight and be in his place in the morning, awaiting the result of his night's work. Not a single instance is known of the leniency of the guard having been abused by the non-return of the prisoner.

Burglary was not common; there were, however, adept thieves who sometimes visited houses where it was known that numbers of goats or sheep were kept. These burglars were believed to make magic which rendered the inmates helpless, and caused them to sleep heavily while their house was being plundered. Such burglaries took place by night when a district was asleep. The burglars have been known to enter a house, kill a goat in the hut, cook the meat, and eat a hearty meal, while the owner lay looking on, utterly unable to move or to call for help; he asserted afterwards that it was not fear, but the power of magic which held him spell-bound. In the morning the skin of the animal and the remains of the meal were found lying there, all the goats and sheep having been driven away. Sometimes other property was stolen; as the native currency was placed between bark-cloths on which the owner lay, the thieves would sometimes lift the sleeping person from the bed, deposit him on the floor, and carry off the money. The owner would awake to the fact of his loss in the morning, when the thieves were clear away.

Most houses were protected by fetishes placed near the door, and a bundle of powerful magical objects over the door, which were supposed to prevent thieves from entering. If they

entered, the magic would work, and they would become powerless to leave the house, and would be captured. Houses were never secured during the daytime when the owner was absent in the fields, and property was seldom missed from a home during such absence, the code of honour among the residents of the village being too high to stoop to such base actions. Thieves stealing either from a house or a garden might be killed, without any fear of the blood avenger, as no relative would seek to avenge such a death; the theft was quite sufficient to estrange the guilty person and to cut him off from all clan claims of protection. The most frequent form of theft was to take food, and it was quite a common custom to spear a thief when he was stealing plantains from a garden, and then to tie the food which he gathered round his neck, and cast the body from the garden on to the nearest road side. The body of a slain thief would be left unburied, for wild animals to devour, the thief being regarded as an outcast from society, discarded by his clan, and his ghost, it was thought, would find no welcome in the ghost world among its own clan members.

The business of the day was done by the chiefs in the early morning hours, and after the duties were ended a plentiful supply of plantain beer was brought, enough for a convivial gathering lasting several hours. Though not very intoxicating, it was strong enough to muddle the brain before night. It was drunk through tubes which were not unlike straws, only more durable; during the drinking ordinary conversation was carried on until afternoon, when most of the visitors left for their homes. In the evening at sunset, that is about half-past six, the smouldering logs in the fireplace in the centre of the hut were blown into a blaze, and as the darkness increased, a torch of elephant grass was used to light up the hut, and the conversation continued until late in the evening. The visitors who lived near and wished to stay, partook of the evening meal, and remained with the chief until nine o'clock or later.

The prime minister seldom visited his property in the country; as his presence was required in the capital, he

could not spare time to take holidays on his estates; and he rarely gave way to excessive drinking, his duties being of such a character that he could not afford to yield to the temptation; and needed his faculties for the many political problems with which he had to deal. A chief, resident in the capital, would expect to be readily admitted to the prime minister's residence, and would often remain there until nine or ten o'clock at night, if there were any reason for prolonged discussion.

The capital was divided up into a number of sites corresponding to the country districts; every leading chief was surrounded by the minor chiefs from his district, and a portion of uncultivated land was left on which peasants could build temporary huts when they were required to reside in the capital for state work. By this plan all the people from a particular district were kept together, and the sites remained the official residences of the chiefs of the districts to which the sites belonged. Chiefs built high fences of reeds round their estates in the capital; the fence bordering on the main road leading to the capital was always neatly finished, and the space in front of the gate was kept swept and free from weeds. Within the enclosure there was a considerable amount of land cultivated, with plantain trees which were well cared for; and the fruit of these trees supplemented the food which was brought up from the country estate, and also supplied the table in any emergency. Every chief built a number of houses within his enclosure, not only for his own use and that of his wives, but also for slaves and retainers, and a supply too for casual visitors who might wish to stay with him for a day or two. When a chief was promoted, or deposed, he had to leave the site on which he had been living within a few hours; this was so ordered to prevent chiefs from using all the food on the site, and from causing destruction to the property. In the country a chief built many huts, and enclosed them within a high strong fence; he also surrounded himself with relations, male and female, and with retainers and slaves, in addition to his many wives. The women cultivated extensive plantain groves and supplied the chief's table with ample vege-

table food,' so that he could entertain his assistant chiefs and visitors on a large scale, and secure their good will. \*Vegetable food was sent almost daily from the country estate to the capital when the chief was in residence there. His estate in the capital was not nearly large enough to keep his household in food, and he was therefore dependent upon his country estate and especially upon the good will of his retainers. \*

From a chief's residence to the capital a road ran which was as straight as it was possible to make it; the worst hills were skirted; swamps were bridged, and a clear path of three yards was kept free from overgrowth. From a chief's residence to that of the next important chief a similar road was built, while the last named chief kept in repair a road to his neighbour, so that the country was covered with a network of roads and paths, which were kept clear and passable. State labour was employed to keep these roads in order, and formed part of the yearly taxation of the country; peasants from each district were called upon, whenever necessary, to repair the roads, and it was the chief work in which men were to be found digging, using hoes and working side by side with women. In addition to supplying this labour, people paid taxes either in kind or in the currency of the country. Though the currency has for many years been constantly changing, there always has been some form of portable currency; it consisted formerly of ivory discs made from elephant tusks, while a few pearl discs found their way into this currency; afterwards came glass beads, possibly from Egypt; and later came cowry-shells from the coast. When Arab slave-traders began to penetrate into the interior, they introduced cotton goods, firearms, and ammunition for bartering, but cowry-shells still remained the common currency, and the price of the cow fixed the value of the cowry-shell.

Each district chief employed his own smith, potter, carpenter, and thatcher, whose labours were rendered free in lieu of rent and taxes. State building and road making also formed part of the taxation, and further every man was

expected, and indeed loved, to give his services in accompanying any punitive expedition.

Buildings were of perishable materials; reeds of elephant grass, with stout poles to support the conical basket work frame, and overlaid with grass, formed the houses, and these buildings required constant repairs. The duration of a well-built house seldom exceeded four years; so multitudes of men were continually employed for house building in the capital, and indeed all over the country. This type of architecture was excellent, and well suited to the country, because the ventilation was good in spite of the houses having no chimneys or windows; and as the buildings were frequently renewed, and the old materials destroyed, disease arising from poor sanitary conditions and unwholesome atmosphere was prevented. Goats and sheep, fowls, and sometimes a cow slept in the house with the family; the odour can therefore be better imagined than described.

With this picture of the country and its social organisation before us, we may be able to understand the constant fluctuations in particular districts, and how necessary it was to readjust the chieftainships when King Mwanga fled with a number of followers who were chiefs, and when subsequently he was captured and deported with those followers. The British Government extended the north-western boundary of Uganda, taking a portion of Bunyoro and giving it to the Baganda, in recognition of services rendered in assisting to put down the recent rebellion. The important chieftainship of Kimbugwe had ceased when the country became Christian, but with the increase of the country the title was revived without the duties and was given to a district chief, who was placed over a newly created chieftainship. Fetishes and Twin have gone, so that the title Kimbugwe alone remains as a relic of the past, which is rather misleading to anyone who knew the office of old.

## CHAPTER XII

### TORO—THE PEOPLE AND COUNTRY—MOUNT LUENZORI —HOT SPRINGS, AND THEIR USE BY THE NATIVE POPULATION

**W**E may now turn our attention to some of the countries around Uganda, and try to gain an insight into the habits of their population, and learn a little about each country. For some months it was my lot to reside in Toro near the great snow-capped mountain, Luenzori, well known by the name "Mountain of the Moon." Though the house I lived in was built on one of the ridges or lower slopes of the great mountain range, it was only at special times that the clouds and mists lifted from the high peaks, and revealed the mountain in its white beauty of glittering ice and snow.

Leaving Mengo, the capital of Uganda, and travelling in a north-westerly direction, we reached Toro after ten days' steady marching. The mode of progress was again by walking, while the goods, as on previous journeys, were carried on the heads of native porters. There was, however, a marked difference between the carriers employed here and those from the coast; the former were Baganda and they carried heavier loads and made longer marches each day than the Swahili had done; the average distance travelled being twenty miles a day which was cheerfully accomplished. The journey from the residence of one chief to that of another living in some other district was reckoned as a stage or march; we camped either at the entrance or just inside the chief's enclosure; the carriers and I were treated as guests, and we were supplied with ample quantities of cooked food in the evening and again in the early morning. The people, both men and women, seemed glad to see us, and crowded around us, eager for us to hold a service and teach them; they often begged us to remain for a few days to instruct them; and when we left in the early morning, they would accompany us some distance on the way. It must be remembered



that I was known by name at least, if not by face, to all these people. Thus travelling among these hospitable people in the early days of mission life, before there were frequent excursions of officers and traders with large parties of men passing along the roads, was more like paying a round of visits to friends than making a journey in a strange country.

There were many rivers to cross, and sometimes swamps fully a mile wide, with black slush smelling horribly, and dirty water varying from one to three feet deep; the carriers, however, never allowed me to get my feet wet, but raised me on the shoulders of some strong man, who carried me across with glee, so that I had not to wade through any swamp. Swamps are a great feature in Uganda, and are found in the valleys winding round the hills in every part of the country; the water is held up by the dense growth of vegetation, especially papyrus, which is known to many people as sud of the Nile. These swampy valleys in Uganda are the true home of the papyrus, and here it flourishes, covering acres of land and growing to a great height. People have spoken about the necessity of draining these blocked valleys. It is, however, to be hoped that the matter will receive the attention of experts in agricultural and other branches of science, before the water is run off from these regions, lest the land should become dry and barren, and so useless for the cultivation of plantains and other water-loving plants which form the principal support of the native population. The moisture in the air in Uganda is doubtless due to these belts of water, and they play a most important part in the fertility of the land.

On one occasion an amusing incident occurred while we were crossing a swamp. I was seated on the shoulders of a man, and had been carried about a quarter of a mile through dirty black water, when the man slipped into a hole, made by the foot of an elephant which had crossed before us. He was up to the waist in water and unable to get out of the hole; so he suggested that the only way out of the difficulty was for me to be dropped into the water and to walk, because we were behind

the carriers,\* and there was no one near to help us. Of course I objected to this procedure and called lustily to the men in front; fortunately they heard me, and several of them ran back to our rescue. By getting a man on either side of him and placing one hand on the head of the man on the right, and the other on the head of the man on the left, and with a third man behind to assist in raising my weight, my bearer was able to extricate himself from the hole and to proceed with me in safety to the other side. This bearer was an amusing man, who, when he had me at his mercy in a swamp, mischievously threatened on more than one occasion to drop me into the dirty slush.

One of the larger rivers to be crossed when going to Toro, named the Mayanja, had proved too deep and wide for the natives to bridge according to their usual method, which is to make a bank of earth across the river, leaving openings for the water to pass through, and to place wooden poles across these openings. This particular river, however, had to be crossed by means of a precarious bridge of stems of papyrus, which are cut and placed from root to root; for a few days the stems will bear the weight of a man, but they soon rot and become dangerous. When we crossed the river, the bridge was in a bad condition, and we had to jump from tuft to tuft of the papyrus roots; a bad jump or a slip might have proved fatal, because few natives can swim, and there is in many places a strong current running under the roots of the papyrus which would carry the unfortunate man who slipped away, and he would be drowned. Here I had the unpleasant experience of testing the current, owing to my cowman having followed me too closely with a calf on his shoulders and passed me in mid-stream; the cow followed the man, anxious for the safety of the calf; and as she passed me, she swam against a root of papyrus on which I stood watching the men cross, and tipped me into the water; fortunately the current was not strong at that place, and I was able to scramble on to another root and cross to the other side with nothing worse than a wetting.

Before Christian teaching enlightened the natives, they firmly believed in a water spirit residing in the river, which

was supposed to take special interest in fords; hence when people wished to cross a river, they made an offering to the spirit by throwing a few coffee berries into the water, hoping thus to propitiate the spirit and cross safely. When any native slipped into the water and got into difficulties, no friend dared help him, for it was thought that the man had been caught by the water spirit who would resent any help being given him and would capture the helper either then, or at some future time when crossing; consequently the poor man would be left to drown. Before any large river was crossed, it was the custom to address the spirit and make an offering to ensure a safe crossing. On the banks of some rivers there were shrines to which the people took beer and fowls, but the usual offering consisted of a few coffee berries which were thrown into the water with a request for a safe crossing.

In most of the big rivers the hippopotamus resides, and is dangerous if disturbed. On one occasion a chief was passing along a road by night with a few of his boys and was about to cross a bridge over a river, when a cow-hippopotamus gave chase; he ran with his boys into the grass to escape, but the animal was too quick for him, caught him, and literally bit him in two, and then returned to the river, leaving the rest of the party to cross in peace. In one place on a small hill where we camped for Sunday when on one of these journeys, a herd of elephants appeared on the plain, and remained feeding for hours below us near a river. It was an interesting sight; for there were forty or more animals roaming about, grazing and knocking their huge tusks together, as they fed from the same tree, causing a sharp ringing sound to be heard. On the day following we had to cross this wide river near the place where the elephants had been feeding. We crossed by a papyrus bridge which, though safe enough while the men kept moving, was in many places a few inches under water and the grass on which we trod gave way and sank at each step. When we reached the opposite bank, a carrier who had crossed in the forepart of the caravan and had been looking round while his com-

panions were crossing, came running to say that there was an elephant dying in the river; we ran to the spot, with visions before our minds of fine tusks which would enrich us, but when we reached the place, we soon found that it was not a dying animal with its legs in the air, according to our informant's description, but that the herd which we had watched the day before was crossing the river. What the man had taken to be the legs of a dying animal were the trunks of the elephants; the rest of their bodies were under water as they waded across the river. Needless to say, we did not wait for the elephants to come to the bank; we had no firearms, so we made off, and the carriers did not rest until they had run fully a mile from the spot.

On another occasion, as we were passing through a belt of forest in this same neighbourhood in the early morning, I was walking in the rear of the men, when suddenly they rushed back past me, and to my enquiries as to why they were running back they only answered, "animals." There were only a few seconds to think and try to discover the meaning of the word, when there was a terrific stampede in front of me, and young trees and bushes were broken down like straw, as a herd of elephants crossed my path a few paces in front of me at right angles, and were soon lost in the distance. They left behind them a track some ten yards wide, carrying everything before them in their flight. It was fortunate that they took the direction they did, and that I escaped injury, for they passed at a short distance of a few yards from me. Most probably they had scented the men who had turned back, and being startled they had made off to some quieter place for feeding.

Toro, according to old traditions, is a part of Bunyoro. It was originally governed by the king of Bunyoro, until Captain Lugard, when representing the Imperial British East African Company, placed Kasagama on the throne and made it a separate kingdom. Captain Lugard went to Lake Albert to bring into Uganda some troops of the Sudanese army left by Emin Pasha. Kasagama rendered him valuable

assistance, and it was in return for this help that Toro was made an independent state with Kasagama as its first ruler.

The royal family of Toro belong to the stock of the pastoral princes of Bunyoro. In the past a prince was the nominal head of this province. Kasagama's father, who had been sent there as ruler, revolted and lived in open hostility with his father and brothers. The new King Kasagama chose a site on the slopes of Luenzori for his capital, and he still follows most of the pastoral customs, though he has no sacred cattle nor does he adhere to any of the more stringent milk rules of the Bunyoro kings. The aborigines belong to the agricultural tribes; they are short in stature, with woolly hair and broad noses, more likely to have affinity with the dwarf tribes of the Congo than with their taller neighbours who are pure Bantu. These agricultural tribes on Luenzori have a few goats, sheep, and fowls, but seldom keep cows; they are a timid, inoffensive people who prefer to flee into the cold uplands of the mountain for safety rather than meet a foe in the plains and fight. When a foe appeared, the inhabitants were warned by the blowing of horns, whereupon they fled higher up the mountain, and hid themselves in the woods, or climbed some high peak into the cold air, where it was too severe for their adversary to follow them. Whatever the vernacular of the people was in the past, they have now acquired a dialect of Lunyoro, though it is far from pure, when compared with the language spoken near the Bunyoro capital. As a race the Toro people are a poor, feeble set, and they seem to be lacking in mental qualities just as they are in physical strength.

When making a journey on one occasion into the region bordering upon the Congo Forest, we camped near some native huts in the Semliki Valley, and my porters warned me to be careful, because the people were debased cannibals, who not only eat the dead of their own tribe, but also buy dead bodies from other tribes around them. This is said to be due to a depraved desire for human flesh which they have come to

prefer to that of animals. Both men and women file their teeth to a point, all their incisors being pointed like the canine teeth; this is frequently practised among cannibal tribes. The occupation of these people is salt making and fishing; the women do the former, and the men the latter. The salt is extracted from sand taken from the bed of the river which is formed by the water from the hot springs in the neighbourhood. The sand is scraped up, and put into large pots with small holes in the bottoms; these are then placed on a stand with a second pot beneath, water is poured over the sand in the upper pot, and filters through into the under one. The water is evaporated over slow fires, leaving a cake of salt at the bottom of the pot; in this impure form the salt is greatly sought after by various tribes for seasoning vegetables and meat.

On the western slopes of Luenzori there are some large hot springs, which flow over their rocky brims and run into a common channel; one of them is well known to the natives for many miles around; it is some twelve feet in diameter, and is always bubbling over and steaming like a huge caldron. The steam from it has an unpleasant odour as though charged with sulphur. The water from this caldron forms the chief stream of the river flowing into the Albert Lake, and it is from its banks and bed that the natives of the district gather the sand for salt making. I paid a visit to this spring and was carried over the stream to reach the edge of the caldron and so obtain a better view of the boiling spring. The water of the stream was so hot that it scalded the feet of the men as we crossed. Near the huge caldron people were cooking their food in small holes in the rock under which the hot stream passed. The rock appears to be a thin shell, in places only a few inches thick; under this a stream of water passes, so hot that food can be cooked in it in a short time. The method of cooking which the people adopt is to tie their food to strings, and lower it through a hole in the rock into the water and hold it there for a few minutes until it is cooked; the water being brackish also seasons the food. We bought a few sweet potatoes from

the people, cooked them in this manner, and ate them on the spot, in order to test the method of cooking. It is apparently the custom of the inhabitants to gather at this spot daily at meal hours, to prepare and cook their meals, and then to eat them under a tree, after which they return to their labours or go home; this saves fire and also the labour of carrying water.

In the Semliki Valley which borders on the Congo Forest, the people belong to several tribes; dwarfs are to be found there and also men fully six feet tall, with others of various degrees of stature between these two extremes; some of the people give themselves up entirely to fishing and they barter the fish for any vegetables they require, others cultivate the ground and rear cattle, while all seem to have their salt pans in their villages. Pigmies abound, but they live almost entirely upon meat from the chase, and have no settled locality; where there is game, they follow the chase, and when successful they settle down for a time to eat the meat so long as the supply lasts; when the meat is finished, they move with their families to some new locality, where a member of their community may have secured some animal. Chiefs of the district often hire these pigmies to assist them in their tribal wars, because they are excellent shots with their poisoned arrows, and are also skilled in spiking paths with needle-like spikes, which pierce the feet of their foes and are scarcely visible to any ordinary pedestrian, so skilfully do they conceal them. The tribe known as the Barega are the most important in this region; their district borders on the Albert Lake, they are a fine stalwart race and noted for bravery. During our visit to the district they would not admit us into their country, because they were at war with a neighbouring tribe, and they thought we might increase their difficulties.

One of the most striking physical features in this part of the country is the number of extinct volcanoes. In many cases the cavities contain water, in others there are trees growing from their depths, or they have a mass of rich vegetation clothing their sides. In various places round the

base of Luenzori there are hot springs esteemed among the natives for healing different kinds of sickness, especially fever; but this use of hot springs is better known among the people living to the east and north of the mountain. The better class of the Toro population are the Banyoro, as already mentioned; they have large herds of cattle with some of the finest cows in the Uganda Protectorate; the pasturage is good, and there is an abundance of salt which is said to keep the cows in good condition. The women, who are by their pastoral customs prohibited from manual work, are ungainly in appearance owing to their enormous fleshy size and inability to walk. They consider obesity a feature of beauty, and vie with one another in accumulating adipose deposit. There is a natural disposition among the women to practise lax morality, and a desire for sexual relations; this tendency is increased by the life which they are by custom forced to live. A married woman is expected to entertain any guest of her husband and to invite him to her couch; this is a mark of hospitality shown by all married men to their visitors. Again, the custom of polyandry, which is common, tends to destroy feminine modesty, when a woman no longer regards one man as the only person to whom she may speak frankly, and in whom she may confide private matters. Among the men this custom destroys all notion of the sanctity of a wife, for it degrades woman to a low social scale, leaving her a mere creature to satisfy animal passions and lust.

An energetic English lady has started an industrial school for these women, who used to fill up their time with idle and unchaste talk and deeds; they are now taught to make lace, to spin, and to engage in other useful and profitable occupations which are compatible with their ideas of women's duties. Such kinds of employment are not derogatory to these women, though they belong to the pastoral tribes, and they should prove a real boon in keeping them occupied mentally and physically and filling up the hours which they used to find so tedious.



The agricultural clans of Toro are reduced to a serfdom which is little more than slavery; they are given the heavy work of building, road making, and of supplying plantains and corn for beer-making; they also supply food for domestic slaves attached to households. They are a dull unintellectual people whom it has been found uphill work to interest and educate.

When Kasagama became king, the country was divided into small states, each having a superior chief to rule it, who took a title similar to the title of a chief in Bunyoro. The soil of the country is not very rich, the population is small, and the natives have little ambition beyond supplying their own immediate necessities; the agricultural clans do not cultivate enough land for their own needs, and consequently live in constant poverty.

Elephants abound, and there are quantities of large game, including numerous lions and leopards; there are parts where it is scarcely safe to travel alone during the daytime because of these wild animals, and people are frequently caught and killed by thoughtlessly going about alone and unarmed. Herdsmen do not consider it an act of special bravery to chase away a lion from a herd of cows; my own cowman, when driving two cows with their calves on a journey, was met by a lion; he was armed with a spear and had a boy with him; when the lion appeared, he stood his ground and drove it away. He did not even mention the episode for a day or two, and then referred to it in a casual manner when talking of wild animals, with no intention of boasting.

On another occasion, when camping near a small chief's residence, we were warned that there were lions in the neighbourhood, and the cowman was told to take necessary precautions; in the evening he shut the calves in a hut near to us, while the cows were outside by a watch fire in front of the tent. There was no noise to lead me to suppose that a lion came into our camp during the night, and the watch fire was kept burning before the tent. In the early morning soon after five o'clock I looked out of the tent, and all was quiet; the

cows lay back to back chewing their cud, as I walked to the hut and called the cowman. I received no reply from him, and the boys who were awake said that he had slept outside, so as to be near the cows in case of need. This was rather alarming, we therefore waked the porters who were lodged near by, to assist in the search. But all was in vain, and for a time the man could not be found. After looking about, some of the men called out, but at first received no reply, and we came to think that a lion had carried him off, when to our amusement and relief the man awoke from sleep, called out from between the cows, and scrambled out from beneath their heads. He had gone to sleep between the animals, so he said, to be near, should any wild beast appear. If any such had appeared, the cows would have stood up and waked the herdsman, who could then have defended them.

The aborigines of Toro are a poor class with little intellectual capacity and of miserable appearance; they live crowded together in badly built huts on the slopes of Mount Luenzori, with small plots of land under cultivation in the valleys, barely large enough to supply their needs. On these plots they grow a kind of small millet, like bird seed, and sweet potatoes; the millet is ground into a coarse flour between two stones and made into porridge, which forms their staple food. Most of these villages have stores of grain hidden in wells in secret places, so that the inhabitants can leave their homes at a moment's notice, if they are attacked by a superior force, and still be sure of their corn supply. In former times whenever they were attacked by an enemy, they fled into the thick forest, and waited there until the enemy disappeared; from these retreats they were able, under the cover of night, to visit their stores, and obtain food as they required it. The clothing of both men and women consists of roughly dressed skins tied round the waist. They are unkempt, all classes alike, and they do not appear to take any thought of washing.

On the western banks of the River Semliki the ground is higher and less subject to floods during the rains, hence

there are more people to be found there; these have come over into British bounds, since the river has become the boundary of the Congo and the British territory, and have settled in various places on the slopes of the great mountain.

The river is not more than twenty yards wide at the ferry generally used by people going into the Congo district, but there is a strong stream flowing, and only experienced canoe men understand the current well enough to ensure a safe crossing. It is also infested with crocodiles, and a big creature had to be disturbed before we could cross with our cattle. When in flood the water spreads over a large area, fully a mile wide, from the river bank on the eastern side; this flooded country forms the great fishing ground of the resident fishing community.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE PASTORAL PEOPLES OF ANKOLE AND KOKI— A JOURNEY INTO BUDU

THE visit which I paid to Ankole was a brief break in the busy routine of my teaching in Uganda. The men chosen by the Uganda Church Council to become ordination candidates and catechists, were placed under instruction in the school of which I was principal, and had two terms in the year lasting five months each, and then at the end of each term a break of a month. During these vacations it was possible for me to arrange for a clear month to visit some district. By making preparations before the break in the school life, I was able to start on the day following the cessation of lectures. On this journey to Ankole my bicycle played an important part and enabled me to accomplish each day's stage of the journey not only more quickly, but also with comparative ease. A man carrying a small store of provisions for lunch, with a spirit lamp and kettle, was able to keep fairly near me and, when it was required, he would carry my bicycle over streams and swamps, then return and carry me too over these bad places. Twenty miles were thus completed in three hours, and the rest of the day from about nine o'clock onwards could be spent reading or, when possible, interviewing natives. When the carriers came up, the tent was speedily pitched, and according to tropical custom a bath was provided, while a more substantial meal was being prepared. The few carriers with the tent and necessary kit had their packages made up into light loads, and seldom took more than four and a half to five hours for the twenty miles usually covered. These carriers were always most cheerful and ready to do all that they could to make the tours pleasant and interesting; they were men who were willing to work for the small remuneration which I could give, and glad to be enabled to see something of other lands than their own. On this journey

a friend caught me up, and we travelled together for two days; we decided to try and combine the last two marches into one, and so reach our destination a day earlier than would otherwise have been possible, and enjoy a day longer in Ankole. As there was moonlight, we determined to make an early start at three o'clock and to complete the first stage in the cool; we found that we could use our bicycles, riding slowly along the paths dimly lighted by the moon. As we were passing through a belt of forest, we came upon a few men with a number of cows, who had fires burning brightly around the animals; they told us that several lions had attempted to capture the cattle, as they were driving them, and at last they were compelled to stop and light fires for protection. We went on, but saw nothing of the lions; our men, who followed later by daylight, said that there were footprints of the lions for some distance along the path from the cattle camp, showing that the beasts had left the cattle and followed us. We had passed on not aware of having royal followers.

The Banyankole or Bahima, as the pastoral people of Ankole are commonly called by the tribes around them, are closely allied to the Banyoro and the dominant people of Toro, though they differ from them in many respects, both as regards government and some important pastoral customs. Their affinity in milk customs and their similarity in personal appearance point to a common origin, while the differences as regards other customs make it clear that they have for many years held aloof from other pastoral peoples.

Ankole, by which name the country is known, is so called after a former king; it lies to the south-west of the Victoria Nyanza, and is bounded by the kingdom of Uganda on the east, Bunyoro on the north, Lake Albert Edward on the west, and Mpororo on the south. It is a small state, but it is wonderfully suited for cattle rearing; it is here that the long-horned cattle, so famous in the central regions, thrive, indeed all cows seem to thrive here, and to surpass those of any other country, while the long-horned kind rarely do well out of Ankole.



UGANDA POTTERS AT WORK



MAKING BARK-CLOTH IN UGANDA



COUNTING COWRY-SHELLS, THE ORIGINAL CURRENCY OF UGANDA



EXTRACTING SALT FROM SAND, BUNYORO.

The country has the same undulating character as that of Uganda, though, as the valleys are not so overgrown with papyrus grass, the water drains off more quickly, and the land is drier. There is in this country an agricultural tribe, as in Toro and Bunyoro, who are to all intents and purposes slaves to the pastoral people and live in a servile condition. These agricultural classes cultivate a small kind of millet and a few plantains, the latter being grown in small clumps and carelessly tended, the people depend almost entirely upon their grain and sweet potatoes for food, and upon the rearing of goats for trading purposes, such as the purchase of wives and payment of fines. They seldom kill animals, but depend upon small wild game for their frugal supply of this kind of food. Salt is procurable from their neighbours on the lake shores near by. Here, as in Bunyoro and Toro, the agricultural people are the acknowledged aborigines, who have been conquered and reduced to serfdom; the pastoral people call the agricultural people *Baheru*, which is their word for slaves.

A feature exists here in the method of government which does not appear to be followed by any other of the pastoral tribes of Central Africa, at least not to the same extent; namely the king claims the cattle throughout the country as his own, and appoints his chiefs to their offices according to the number of cattle allotted to them; the rank of a chief is thus reckoned not by territory, but by the number of cattle which he possesses. The land is only of secondary importance, though it is marked out into districts, and each chief is ruler over the pasturage of an assigned area; his cattle and those of his subchiefs roam over it at the discretion of the herdsmen. The British Government has to some extent abolished the arrangement which gave the king the sole right of possessing cattle, and his chiefs are now said to possess cattle of their own, which would have been impossible in former years. The king and almost all the chiefs have become Christians, and the country is being developed along lines laid down by British officers; indeed there are a number of chiefs in charge of the



agricultural districts, seeking to develop the land, but these men are Baganda who have been brought into the country to superintend the cultivation of cotton and rubber. This innovation that chiefs should have an interest in agricultural pursuits militates against all the sacred rites of the pastoral people. Cultivation under the pastoral customs could not be undertaken without prejudice and injury to milk institutions; the latter forbade any man keeping cows to dig or to grow vegetable food, because it was considered detrimental to the health of the herds. The introduction of Baganda for this purpose may possibly be the method which the people have adopted to overcome what appeared to be an insurmountable difficulty.

There is no question about the country being suited to cattle, for they are in splendid condition, sleek and fat, but the great demand for cotton, rubber, coffee, and cocoa has prompted the British Government to test every part of the Protectorate as to its suitability for growing these profitable export products, and accordingly Ankole is also being tried. Chiefs belonging to pastoral clans were unable to supervise agricultural pursuits, and so capable Baganda have been placed in charge of certain districts to supervise the labours of the agricultural clans. Some fifteen years ago the king of Ankole would not have tolerated any Muganda, as a chief, in his kingdom, but would have been afraid of the influence over his people; now, however, he welcomes them, to instruct his peasants in the art of cotton and rubber growing, in order to satisfy British officers, who, alas! know little of the pastoral prejudices and superstitions.

The office of king is restricted to a man of the blood royal; the king is highly revered by the people, who look upon him as a person quite removed from their level. Yet the king is obliged to marry daughters of his own subjects, and not women from another nation, in order to secure an acceptable successor to the throne.

Sons born to princesses by husbands belonging to the ordinary ranks of society were called princes, but they were not eligible for the throne. The education of a prince differed

in no wise from that of an ordinary herdsman; he had to learn how to manage cows, and lived exactly as did the son of a herdsman in every respect; the only difference being that he was dressed in a mantle of coloured cow-hides; this mantle was made of long strips of red, white and black cow-hides stitched together—a regular, Joseph's coat. Chiefs wore robes of well dressed cow-skins, but the poorer classes of the male population wore little clothing other than a small cape of skin over their shoulders. Women were more particular in their dress, and never allowed even their faces to be seen when they went abroad; they wore an ample dress of cow-skin wrapped round the body, and put a second mantle over their head when they left the house. The king lived in a hut in his kraal in a manner similar to his chiefs, and had his favourite cows about him; his courts were held in the open under a shady tree; a rug of cow-hides well dressed until they were quite soft, was spread on the ground for him to sit on; behind him sat a few of his wives and his special guard, and in front of him chiefs and other persons assembled for business transactions, or merely to listen to, and take part in the discussions. No one was permitted to bring any weapon into an assembly, but everyone who approached the king laid his arms down at a distance, and left them there until the meeting ended; to have retained any weapon would have occasioned suspicion, and have rendered the man liable to be seized and punished as a person with evil intentions on the king's life. It was believed that any man who had been deprived of his cows for any reason was likely to attempt the king's life out of revenge for his loss, and on this account, if there was a reason for taking cattle from a man, or deposing a chief from office, he was almost invariably executed and thus removed out of the way, lest he should try to revenge himself on the king; if his life was spared, he was never permitted to carry weapons in the presence of the king.

As might be expected, these assemblies were chiefly occupied with matters concerning cattle; chiefs came to give

accounts to the king of the increase and of the health of their herds, they also had to assure him that the animals were being well treated, and that their number was not diminished by any fault of the herdsmen. A chief had a certain amount of freedom in the disposal of the herd under his control, he might exchange a number of cows with a person of another clan for a wife, but he might not sell any to a person belonging to another tribe, nor might he kill any cows; and only a limited number of bulls might be killed during each year for sacrifice or food. Among the poorer members of pastoral people a man found it difficult to obtain the means to purchase a wife and still to retain enough for milk to support himself and his wife. Families were obliged to follow the tribal customs concerning the milk diet, hence vegetable food might not be eaten by a man who had drunk milk on the same day. To overcome the difficulty of both obtaining food and marrying, several men who were clan brothers would combine and marry a woman, who was shared by all these men; if there was any family, the children belonged to the eldest. There appears to have been no difficulty in obtaining a woman as the wife of several men, nor were there any quarrels or unhappiness among the men in such marriages. The more wealthy people, however, did not confine themselves to one wife, for they could afford to marry several and support them, and there were no rules forbidding polygamy. This is one of the few tribes of Africa in which polyandry worked side by side with polygamy in perfect harmony.

Every chief was free to divide and subdivide the herds over which he had charge for the king; this was a private matter. Again, every important chief was the over-lord of smaller chiefs appointed by the king; over these latter the leading chief acted merely as the king's representative to see that all went well, and that due care was exercised over the king's property; he had no power to depose a chief, nor to appoint a chief to any vacancy that might occur: this was the king's prerogative.

When a man wanted to buy weapons, or to enter into barter

transactions with a person of another tribe, as, for instance, to have a house and kraal built, he might do so by selling butter or hides, but not by selling cattle or milk. Pastoral people had few wants which needed to be supplied by members of other tribes, beyond the purchase of weapons, ornaments, or milk vessels, hence they were not often drawn into barter transactions.

Women were careful to guard their daughters against having undue familiarity with men before marriage; it was a great reproach to the mother, and derogatory to any girl to commit an immoral act before marriage; indeed so grave was the offence that, if any young woman had a child before marriage, she became an outcast whom no man would marry. Such cases of immorality were most rare owing to the strength of public opinion, and men paid a high tribute to the honour of young women. Dutiful obedience from a wife was expected by her husband; if any woman used unbecoming language to her husband, she laid herself open to trial in the public court. Should she be proved to be of a quarrelsome turn, the court sentenced her to be taken to a priest who lived on the shore of a particular lake, because she was considered to be suffering from a physical complaint. The priest treated the woman medically; to cure her disease she was given a purgative and an emetic, and when these had operated, she was washed in the lake, and sent home to her husband, a chastened and humbled wife.

Women were particular about their dress; no woman would think of leaving her house without covering her head and face, so that her features could not be seen. It was not etiquette for a woman to walk any distance without resting frequently, and indeed most women had lost the ability to go more than a few yards without a pause; they were carried in litters, when there was a journey to be made. When out visiting friends near home, they walked for a short distance and then stopped to rest, placing their hands upon their knees; in this attitude they looked peculiar objects with their persons covered, more like animals than human

beings. Their milk diet and indolent mode of life gave the women rather flabby flesh, which caused them to move slowly and with difficulty.

When the king died, he was not spoken of as dead, because his spirit was supposed to pass into the form of a lion, nor might his name be mentioned under any circumstances. The body of the king was taken to a sacred forest, where it was kept for some time, and it was considered to be undergoing a process in which the swelling and subsidence of the stomach was said to be the sign of rebirth; when the swelled body collapsed a lion's cub was produced by the priest, who stated that it was the reborn king. During the period of waiting for the cub the priest daily washed the body of the king with milk, but after the lion-cub was produced, the body was buried and the grave received no attention. The lion-cub was cared for and nursed with the utmost tenderness, and fed on beef as soon as it was able to eat. Animals from the royal herd were freely supplied for this purpose. The priest who lived in the forest had charge of a number of lions said to be the kings of past generations; he was expected to hold communication with those departed kings and to give the message to the reigning king.

When the lion-cub was old enough to run about, it was turned into the forest, and was free to mingle with the other partly tamed beasts. From this time the newly elected king sought information from his predecessor through the priest, who became the means of communication with the dead.

The spirit of the wife of a king was supposed at death to enter into a leopard, unless she had been childless, in which case she was buried without any care. The spirits of princes and of princesses entered into pythons, and these, together with the sacred leopards, had their special place of residence, and priests whose duty it was to feed them and to act as mediums with the spirits in them.

Common people were buried inside the kraal in which the death had taken place; a grave was dug in the dung heap, and after the proper mourning ceremonies had been completed, the

relatives left the place, and built a new kraal and near it a shrine, for the ghost of the departed relative. Widows frequently sought opportunity to commit suicide by drinking poison at the graves of their husbands; relatives guarded them, and restrained them by force from this act. There were, however, times when relatives were willing to give the ghost of the deceased greater honour by allowing one or more of his widows to accompany him by death in order to be with him in the spirit world. The future presents no dread to these simple minded people, with their beliefs of a future life lived under conditions not unlike those of the present, and where therefore the husband would be ready to care for his wife, whereas life without a husband is full of terrors for a widow.

A childless widow had the right of becoming the wife of a brother of her deceased husband according to levirate custom, and her first born son became heir to the property of the deceased and was called his child. A widow who had a son had no fear of her position not being secured, because her son would care for her, and she was anxious to see him grow up to manhood; this restrained her from trying to commit suicide at her husband's funeral. In other parts of Africa the levirate rule also exists; the deceased man's brother takes the widow to wife if she is childless, and the first son she bears becomes the son of the deceased, while children born later are the sons and daughters of the second husband. The first child, when old enough, inherits the property of the deceased father. In some instances where the cows have been divided among clan members, the first calf from each cow is given to the levirate son. In the Ziba country this custom is certainly still practised.

When our short visit to Ankole ended, we were able to take a southern route back, passing through Koki instead of returning by the more direct road to Uganda. The path lay almost due south from Mbarara, the capital of Ankole, through tracts of country used entirely for pastoral purposes, though at intervals of some twenty miles there were small settlements of agricultural people. Most of the district

through which we passed was wild, uncultivated land, with hills beautifully clothed with small timber and shrubs, and valleys with abundant grass suitable for cattle. The few small settlements which we encountered were almost entirely occupied by Mohammedan Baganda, who had settled in these places, when they were forced to flee from their own country during the rising which they had unsuccessfully instigated. At different places as we travelled we caught glimpses of the Koki Lake; though this is only a small sheet of water when compared with the other great lakes, it is a beautiful and useful lake, being several miles long and in places over a mile wide. It was interesting to come upon large herds of cattle on this journey, and to see members of the pastoral clans living their natural pastoral life; they were bands of men who devoted themselves to the care of their herds, ready to move their home to some new site, when they considered a change of pasturage necessary for the health of the cows. In this kind of life, living as they do with their cows from morning until night, the men get to know each cow with all its peculiarities of temper, and they notice any change in its health; the cows also learn to know the voices of the men, and respond to each call, and do as they are told. The kraal seldom consists of more than a few thorny shrubs placed between the huts, which are built at intervals, to encircle a space into which the cows are driven every night, thus being kept from straying. Usually a man is on guard, though he does not necessarily stand outside, but from his hut he keeps watch, and should any wild beast approach, he is warned by the cows becoming restive and snorting, and is thus able to rouse his companions to assist him in protecting the herd.

The huts in such a kraal are simple structures, beehive huts placed at intervals along the fence which encircles the kraal; they are scarcely high enough to allow a man to stand upright inside at the highest point, and scarcely wide enough to enable him to make his bed and stretch his limbs by night; few of them have a pole to support the roof. The frame consists of stout sticks dug into the earth in a circle, bent inwards,

and tied together at the apex; such a frame is strong enough to support the thatch; the doorway opens into the kraal, and between the huts the thorny shrubs are placed to form a fence. If any herdsman is married, his wife is the person upon whom devolves the right to wash the milk pots, and to churn the butter and make it up into packets to be sent to the chief; when there is no woman in a kraal, the men manage these duties themselves, and fumigate the pots with scented grass. The number of men attached to a kraal depends upon the size of the herd; there may be as many as twelve men for a large herd, and only three or four for a small one. Two or three men only are necessary to guard a herd of even a hundred cows when grazing; the other herdsmen remain behind to clear the kraal of dung, to spread in the sun any dung required for fuel, and to prepare water for the herd at night, should it be necessary to draw it. In some places there are deep water-holes from which the water is drawn; it is then emptied into clay troughs for the cows to drink from, before entering the kraal. The men who remain in the kraal also have charge of the calves, and they carry milk and butter to their masters. Herdsman receive no pay for their labour, but are expected to take a certain amount of milk and butter to their masters, and to use the remainder of the milk and butter from the herd for their own requirements. This milk and butter is their pay; but a good master sometimes allows a herdsman to have a cow, to assist him to purchase a wife.

A fire is kept burning in each kraal near its entrance by day and by night; the fuel for this fire consists of dung, prepared by being dried in the sun, and stored by the men who remain at home, while their companions herd the animals at pasture. A site for a kraal is sought near water, when it is possible to procure such a place, so that the herds can drink before they enter their place of rest for the night; no food is given to the animals during the night, they fast until morning, when they are milked, and turned out to graze near the kraal; they feed their young before they go away for



the day. It was impossible for us to remain for a night with any of these herdsmen at a kraal, as there were no facilities for porters to obtain provisions, and we had no food with us; we had therefore to move on to the nearest village, which in every case was some miles distant from the kraal.

On this journey to Koki I had an unpleasant experience, when riding down a rather steep hill into a valley. It was quite early, about six o'clock, and the valley was still shaded from the bright sun. I ran into a stream, which had been bridged but where there was a break in the middle of the bridge, hidden by overhanging grass; the bicycle ran into this at a rapid rate, and I was thrown some feet from the bicycle on to my shoulder and was slightly stunned, but after sitting up and examining my bruises, I found that no bones were broken. I scrambled to my feet and went back, dragged the machine from the stream, and was glad to find that it was little the worse for the accident. Though most of the hills were much too steep to ride up, and sometimes all the strength at my command was needed to push the bicycle to the summit, I had a rest while riding carefully down, with both brakes on, keeping a watch for sharp dips or breaks in the track, so as to be ready to fall over into the grass when I might save the machine from damage and my bones from being broken. This is possible when one is alone, but it is sometimes difficult when another rider comes behind down a hill and loses control of his machine. I had an unpleasant experience of this on one occasion when a chief riding behind me called to me to give him the path; there was barely time for me to drag my bicycle into the grass, when he shot past and was hurled into an acacia bush lower down the hill, from which he was extricated looking more like a pincushion full of pins than a human being. The chief had lost control of his machine and was unable to turn at the bend in the road; fortunately no bones were broken, and his boys soon picked the thorns from his body.

Koki is a small state, which a few years ago was an independent kingdom, but since the British Protectorate has

been established, it has become a state of Uganda. In the time of King Mutesa and during Mwanga's reign Koki was tributary to Uganda, paying a yearly amount in cows and iron spades. Though the area does not exceed that of one of the smaller districts in Uganda, the people, as they governed themselves, naturally valued their independence. The people are now only partially pastoral, formerly they were entirely so. The introduction of agricultural pursuits may be due to intermarriage with members of agricultural tribes and the incorporation of these persons into the tribe. The pastoral people of the tribe are related to the pastoral tribe of Bunyoro, and have a royal family of which they are proud. In recent years some of the better class women and princesses began to imitate the Baganda women in tillage, especially in the cultivation of plantains. Women do the work in the fields, and men build the houses, and also are the herdsmen. The royal family still retain most of the milk customs and habits of pastoral people, and abstain from a vegetable diet, unless they are in urgent need of food, in which case they refrain from drinking milk until they have fulfilled the prescribed conditions of milk taboo.

The country is marshy and has a small lake, upon which there are a few dug-out canoes used to ferry people across the water, thus saving the time and labour of walking some miles round the lake to their homes. It is the custom with the royal clan that the firstborn child of a king shall be a girl; should a male be born, he is killed at birth, and the midwife says that the child was born dead. The present ruler is an exception to this custom, for he was the firstborn child of his father, but escaped death owing to the introduction of Christianity. In the course of developing its work, the Uganda church sent a catechist to Koki, who was successful in reaching numbers of the better class. Among the early converts was the king Kamswaga; after his baptism he was informed of the existence of his son, and he allowed him to be brought to his capital. The child had been taken into the country at the time of his birth and placed with some of the royal herdsmen,

and the father had been kept in ignorance of his existence, and told that the child was still-born, according to their old custom. There are instances on record of princes having been thus taken away and cared for, when there was little hope of there being a successor to the king, and of men having come forward at the king's death to prove the prince's legitimate claim to the throne. In this case the introduction of Christianity removed the difficulty, and the father acknowledged his son, and received him back in the capital during his own lifetime.

The capital of Koki is surrounded by high hills which are full of iron stone; from these hills in olden times a great part of the iron which was smelted and worked for weapons and implements of domestic life used to be quarried. This part of the country was the chief source from which Uganda obtained its iron, and here special smiths lived who forged iron, which was then sent in small bars to the country smiths. An old Uganda legend says that Kalimera, the son of an early king, Chwa, went on a visit to Bunyoro, and there learnt the art of a smith and sent the first iron implements into Uganda. It is quite probable that a prince did learn the art, because every king for many years past has had his smithy in the royal enclosure and learnt to work iron as a hobby, but another fact must be remembered in connexion with the introduction of iron, namely that this part of Uganda once belonged to Bunyoro, and the Baganda who understand smelting belong to clans which were left in this part of the country when the Baganda annexed it. The clans which were in the country when it was conquered have been included in the Uganda nation, and are free to marry into any clan; this is the strongest national bond. These iron smelters are not of the same race as the people of Koki, but are a class distinct from the pastoral people, and live on a vegetable diet; still they pay taxes to the king of Koki, and are his subjects, working in his country.

Koki is one of the districts most troubled with mosquitoes, which abound during the daytime. In most places it is

safe to disregard these pests during the daytime, but in Koki even during the bright sunshine they seem to take no rest themselves and give their victims but little.

Passing on through Koki into the western part of Uganda, Budu, we come into what was one of the most important and wealthy districts. Besides having iron ore, Budu has also some of the best trees for making bark-cloth and is an excellent cattle country. King Semakokiro, who lived about one hundred and fifty years ago, is said to have compelled all his people to cultivate the tree which yields the bark, from which the so-called cloth is made. In the district known as Sango in Budu trees are grown which produce the finest kind of bark in Uganda, of a better quality and a richer colour than any other; these particular trees do not grow freely in other places. The use of bark-cloth is fast disappearing owing to the introduction of unbleached calico, which is of a stronger texture, more durable, and capable of being washed. The better class Baganda were glad to obtain cotton goods which could be washed, because of vermin; bark-cloth encouraged this pest, to the great discomfort of the native. For the purpose of cleansing it was customary to fumigate the bark-cloth; it was spread over a basket framework, under which a small fire was lighted and grass was slowly burned, giving off volumes of smoke, the heat of the sun meanwhile causing the creatures to drop off. The smell of the burnt grass on the garment was as pleasing to the native as that of newly washed garments is to an Englishman.

It is a pity that the bark-cloth industry, which was so extensive and so useful, should be allowed to die; if only some other use could be made of the bark-cloth, it would be an advantage to the natives, who would reap some benefit from the trees on their estates. The trees grow readily and rapidly, and yield annual barks of good quality for some seven years; they require no cultivation.

In Budu the finest kind of basketry was also practised, the baskets being made from the young leaves of the wild palm

trees. This industry needs protection and encouragement, otherwise it will also disappear. Basket making was confined almost entirely to women, and was a means by which poor women were able to obtain the many little things which otherwise they could not have procured. Visits to these distant parts of Uganda were made by me during vacations, and the men who acted as my carriers were teachers resting from their studies, who turned these journeys to profit; they earned money thereby for their clothing and other purposes, and they were useful too, as these tours were opportunities for preaching and teaching. The ability and the fidelity of these men were unsurpassed, and many of them are still doing noble work as teachers, while not a few have become native pastors.

## CHAPTER XIV

### LAKE DWELLERS, A BANTU TRIBE, AND THE BAKEDI, A NILOTIC TRIBE

THE next tribes whom I will mention among those encountered in the short journeys which I made into countries adjacent to Uganda are two, one belonging to the group of tribes in the north and the other to those in the north-east of Uganda, the one set being Bantu lake dwellers and the other Nilotic.

Where the River Nile is crossed in the neighbourhood of Lake Kioga in Bunyoro, there are to be found many smaller streams which wend their way into that great river, and though they are for the most part insignificant when compared with that mighty stream, yet each adds its quota to the volume of water, and is of great value to the country through which it passes. Some of these rivers widen out in places and form pretty lakes; we should consider them large were it not for the greater Victoria Nyanza, Albert, and Albert Edward Lakes in the same region, which dwarf some really fine sheets of water. Among the smaller, though extremely pretty, lakes we must place Kioga; it is a wide, open expanse of the Mpologoma River, which empties itself into the Nile near Lake Albert.

The Mpologoma River rises on the southern slopes of Mount Elgon, and rapidly assumes wide proportions owing to the amount of papyrus which grows in it and which retards the water from draining off rapidly into the Nile. In few places does the water exceed more than eight or ten feet in depth, but it is everywhere wide, in many places fully a mile in width, and it has a rich black deposit, which is constantly being increased as the heavy rains carry into it the surface earth from the hills. The water is seldom a visibly flowing stream, though it is never quite still; it has, however, a slow movement which is rarely noticeable, and it is only in the places where the

channel narrows down to a width of a few yards, and is deep, that the current is at all perceptible. In most places, papyrus rises to a height of some fifteen feet, and extends from bank to bank and up and down the river for miles, so that when it is viewed from any eminence, the eye rests upon a sea of green with feathery tufts of brownish coloured seeds, pretty to look upon, but terrible to encounter when crossing the river. In this forest of papyrus numbers of busy people live; their huts are constructed upon the floating roots of the papyrus, and hidden by the tall grass from being seen at any point on the river bank; the principal material used in building the huts is this same papyrus grass. The foundation of a house is formed by a large root, or interlaced roots of papyrus; the strong stems of the grass are cut down and laid on this layer upon layer crossed and recrossed, until a firm floor several feet deep is formed, into which the stakes of the framework can be inserted. The hut frame is more like a huge inverted basket than anything else that I can picture; this is thatched with common grass brought from the shore. Inside a hut the floor is made smooth and comfortable with small papyrus stems, and a slab of thick mud to serve as a fireplace is plastered in the middle of the floor. The bedstead is a wooden frame, often raised four or five feet high, to ensure its being above the water line, because a heavy fall of rain on the hills may cause the water to rise several feet in a few hours, and should that happen during the night when the inhabitants are asleep, there would be a danger of their being drowned before the papyrus could rise to the new level. The inhabitants say that sometimes during the night, when there is a heavy storm, the water will rise until it is as high as the doorway, too high for them to get out, and they have to cut a new opening and crawl from the bed into the canoe, which is always secured near the door. Such inundations do not disturb the placid temperament of these people, for they know that the water will rapidly subside, leaving their home little the worse for the wetting. They go about their fishing and calmly wait for the water to fall to the normal height; they

do not trouble to change their home or to alter the arrangements of the interior.

In shallow water papyrus often becomes rooted and will not float with the rapidly rising water, which is the reason why houses are swamped; whereas in deep water the roots are pendent and rise or fall with the water. On the lakes the huts are often carried about by the wind or any current. Thus on Lake Kioga papyrus tufts may be scattered about on the surface or gathered into one mass; they may be seen one day on one side of the lake, and the next day, after a strong wind, they will be found carried a mile or more away to the other side. The people build their huts on large tufts of papyrus, so matted together that there is no fear of their being divided or split up by wind, and they are carried about in their floating homes without any feeling of insecurity. In the rivers the huts are always in fixed locations owing to the immense growth of grass which extends for many miles; the only movement of these latter huts is in altitude with the increase or decrease of water. These huts on the rivers are usually built some distance from the fords and are invisible from the banks; they have long waterways to them and can only be reached by canoe. The chief of a district has his own special street or waterway with his huts for his wives, and the home of each peasant has its own short alley branching off from the main waterway. In one place we visited the chief of a small community, who had his private waterway leading from the main way; over the entrance to this way was an arch made of papyrus stems, tied together at the top, and hung with fetishes, to protect him from the danger of hostile invasion. The main waterway to the chief's house was a fine course some ten or twelve feet wide, and we passed many side branches with huts in them; at some of the huts women were sitting in the doorways, while children were playing about in small canoes looking peaceful and happy. The side way in which the chief lived was about a quarter of a mile long. The door of the hut opened upon the water, so that



there was only one step upon which to land, and enter the hut. When a man has more than one hut in the same locality, he usually has a path built upon papyrus roots connecting them together, so as to enable him to pass from one to the other without the use of a canoe.

The old chief whom I visited was most communicative and friendly, ready to tell me about his people. He said that his parents told him that their forefathers had come in the first instance from Busoga; they originally lived on the banks of rivers, but because they were frequently robbed, and also owing to some of their relatives having been captured and enslaved, they decided to build their houses upon papyrus in the river, and from that time, many generations ago, they had lived in floating houses. There may be some truth in this tradition, though it does not seem possible to recognise these people as being closely related to the Basoga; the great differences of totems and also of many customs combat such an idea. Most of the Bakene whom we met spoke Luganda freely, but this may readily be accounted for by their contact with Baganda traders who cross the ferries on their trading expeditions.

The chief was having a new hut constructed a few yards distant from his old one; the frame of it was complete, so that it was possible to gain an idea of their method of building. The description given of an inverted wicker basket fully describes the framework. One interesting feature in the construction of the hut was a hole in the roof at the apex to let out the smoke; this is the only tribe I have observed in Africa who make any outlet in a hut for smoke. The river abounds with mosquitoes, which are active even during the day, but these people do not seem to mind them, nor do they suffer from their bites; possibly the flies are at present innocuous. It was interesting to see some goats living in these huts; they were feeding near the chief's hut, walking on the papyrus roots, and picking creepers from the stems of the growing papyrus; they are taken to graze on the land during the day, and brought back to rest at mid-day

and to sleep at night; they appeared perfectly satisfied and happy on their floating home. The food of the people consists chiefly of fish, though they exchange sun-dried fish for millet and have a meal of porridge once a day when possible; their chief occupation is fishing, though a few of the people give some time to cultivating small plots of land near their homes. Fish traps bring in the greatest supply of fish, but the people know the use of lines and hooks, and to a limited degree these are used; large quantities of fish are dried in the sun and smoked over wood fires for market—they often carry them some miles to favourable markets.

On Lake Kioga we were fortunate, when crossing, to see some of the homes and also many of the people who were busy fishing. In most cases a house occupied its own separate clump of papyrus roots and was independent of other houses; the house floats about with every change of wind, but the inhabitants are indifferent as to the locality of the home, because the canoe is their means of traversing the lake, and it is always secured to the house door ready for any emergency, and can be drawn up to the door when wanted. It was a pretty sight to see young children as happy on the water as other children are on land. A child learns to love its watery surroundings, and seems to become amphibious; it can paddle its canoe and it can also swim about almost as well as it can walk. Some of the canoes used were very flimsy craft, little more than a plank, on which the occupant sat, the water passing over his limbs as he paddled about. The most that can be said for these craft is that they save the occupant the slight exertion of swimming, otherwise there is little gain in their use. On this lake there are many shrines built on small tufts of papyrus, presumably for the ghosts of relatives. Our time did not permit of a lengthy stay, so we had to leave these people, after gathering a few ideas of their habits of life; we hope for some future opportunity for a further study of their social life. They naturally would not tell a stranger much about themselves, and like other Bantu tribes they were both suspicious and reticent. These lake

dwellers are said to reside in numbers on various small lakes in this region, but there was not time to venture farther afield to hunt them out.

Bakedi, as the Bateso are more commonly called by their neighbours, means naked people; they are so named because both men and women of all ages live in a nude state; they belong to the Nilotic tribes of the people, but form quite a distinct group from the Bantu, who live among them, but keep separate from them in religious and social life. In many respects they are more primitive than the Bantu tribes, and in religious matters they are decidedly behind their neighbours. It was impossible to find whether they had any knowledge of the Creator; not even a term for a superior being could be discovered, though there were traces of worship of the dead, which worship appeared to be the only form of cultus among the tribe. In the custom followed for rain-making a form of magic is practised with what may be a trace of worship; it is as follows: a place is chosen for making a feast in the neighbourhood, the chief provides animals for the feast, and a dance is held. The dance and feast are thought to influence the elements in some way, there being an indistinct and hazy belief in a rock spirit. Though there is this form of magic in rain-making, and a rude form of worship of the dead, still there seems to be a lack of any idea of a supreme being. A Muganda teacher who had spent some years among the people and had been able to translate parts of the Gospels into the Teso language, said that he had not found any term used for the Creator or for a supreme being, and had been obliged to adopt a term from his own language.

Among this particular Nilotic tribe, the Bateso, there are two or three superior chiefs, each of whom rules a large district and acts as magistrate to his own people. The land belongs to families who hold it as their freehold property; they base their claim upon the fact that they have tilled it for years, and that as it passed to them from their forefathers, so they are to pass it on to their children. Millet, sweet potatoes, cereals, such as peas, beans, and marrows, are the chief

foodstuffs cultivated, and many villages also possess cattle, goats, shæp, and fowls. The dwellings are round huts, with walls of stakes from three to four feet above the ground. The stakes are driven a few inches into the earth; the builder marks out a circle on the ground, cutting a shallow trench in a circle which is fairly accurate, considering that he uses nothing but his eyesight; into this circular trench he drives or inserts his stakes three or four inches deep, leaving a space for the doorway. In the centre of the hut a stout pole is erected; it is sunk two or three feet into the ground, and is tall enough to give the necessary angle for the roof pitch. From this central pole the rafters radiate to the walls; they are bound to the pole by strips of bark, and are like the ribs of an umbrella. Across these rafters smaller pliable sticks are tied, running at equal distances from the wall circle and diminishing in size as they near the central pole. The thatch, which consists of grass cut in lengths and tied in small bundles, is laid on the roof from the eaves, and has the ends kept even and secured to the rafters beneath. After the first layer of grass has been put on the roof at the eaves, a second layer is laid a few inches higher, and its ends form a ridge as it rests on the lower layer; this arrangement looks neat and has somewhat the appearance of slates overlapping each other on a roof.

Families live in groups of huts clustered together, without any attempt to form roads between them, inside a growing fence, which forms a cattle kraal. There are often twenty or more families living in one of these enclosures, and the cows wander about, unless they are confined in a small square to one side, leaving the children room to play. There is no rule for restricting the number of inmates in a hut; age alone causes the bigger girls to marry and to leave the parental roof. The people till plots of land near by, and also claim any timber to be found in the vicinity of their fields. Timber for fuel and for building purposes is scarce in this particular part of the country, and the utmost care is exercised in cutting it for any purpose whatever.

There is a strange custom of ornamentation among the women; they pierce the tip of the tongue and thread a small ring of iron or brass through it, and the presence of this ring does not appear to impair speech nor to cause discomfort when eating. I was informed that this was done for purposes of ornament only, and that it was not ceremonial,\* but I am myself inclined to think that it belongs to initiation ceremonies, and is therefore ceremonial.

The lower lip is also pierced by many women to admit a stone some two inches long and half an inch thick, tapering slightly to a blunted end; the stones are generally white granite, rubbed smooth with a slight taper, and they fit tightly into the hole in the lip and stand horizontally to the mouth. Many women pierce the ears with numbers of small holes round the helix and wear a small ring of iron threaded through each hole. Another method of decoration is to pierce the flesh on the chest by pinching it up and boring a small hole, and to thread a small iron or brass ring through; the rings are kept bright by the frequent application of oil to the body, rubbed in with the palm of the hand.

The features of the country are very different from those of Uganda; here there are larger rocky hills with enormous boulders lying in all manner of positions, as though they had been cast up by earth eruptions, or dropped from the crest of a wave. Some of the stones weighing several tons seem to be resting on others in the most precarious positions, especially those on hills, which look as though they must topple over with a breath of wind. The country is not so moist as that of Uganda, the drainage is more rapid, and there is a more defined tropical rainfall; the ordinary grass is not so rich, there are few forests of any size, and trees almost disappear when the water courses are left behind for the higher undulating land. The country presents on the whole a much less inviting appearance than most parts of Uganda, and is suited for a different kind of cultivation. The British Government placed Baganda chiefs over these Bateso some years ago when the country was occupied

by the English, and a more systematic form of government was established by these chiefs. It was the task of the principal Muganda chiefs to bring the country into peace and harmony with other parts of the Protectorate, and they have done their work well. They have gained the confidence of the people and made friends with them, while they have taught them to cultivate cotton and rubber, to make roads, and to do other work for the civilisation of the district, thus uplifting a tribe and redeeming a country, in addition to bringing about a sound system of government, and making it safe to pass through a people hitherto wild.

During my visit to this province I was robbed of both clothes and money one night; it was the first and only time that I have been robbed during my many years of African travels and life. I was staying in a Government rest-house which had neither doors nor windows, but only three bare rooms and an open space on the fourth side; I had been told by the missionary living in the place that there were no thieves, and I had relaxed my usual precautions against any attempt to be robbed. During the evening as I suffered from a cold and was a little feverish, I took a sleeping draught and went early to bed. I was disturbed at half-past ten by a noise which I thought came from a dog in my room; for a few moments I tried to drive the dog away without getting out of bed or lighting a candle, but after a few futile efforts I got up, when to my surprise the box on which my candle stood was snatched away, the candle and matches were thrown under the bed, and before my boys could be roused and could respond to my call, the thief had dragged the box out of the room, and was running off in the distance with some confederate, who had been waiting outside. The boys were in the next room at the opposite end of the house, but natives sleep soundly and require a vast amount of waking, and then a little time to collect their thoughts; and this gave the thief a start. Fortunately one suit of clothes was left in another part of the room, and enough money in the pockets to enable me to continue my journey of some two

hundred miles, and to visit several mission stations. The chief of Ngora and all his people expressed their great regret the next day when they heard of my loss, and they sent men in all directions to try to discover the thieves, but all that could be found was the empty iron box thrown away in the swamp, and a little farther a few odd garments, which had been discarded as useless, together with some drugs. Some months later the thief was caught in Busoga in possession of some of the stolen goods; he turned out to be a notorious Musoga robber who was wanted for murder; and after being tried by the British Government, he was condemned to death and hanged. It was perhaps a fortunate circumstance that I could not get out of bed in time to grapple with the man, for he would most probably have used his knife, as he had done before when house-robbing, and as he did later when he entered houses to steal and was disturbed by the inmates.

The Bateso are not addicted to theft, and did not expect to be saddled with thieves and burglars from other countries. As a nation, they are a quiet, inoffensive people and seldom fight or go to war. Their past records recount only tribal wars, which have arisen from women having been decoyed or captured, when going to work or returning from their fields; another cause for fighting was that land had been appropriated which they claimed as family property, and as they failed to obtain their rights peaceably, they resorted to arms. In such fights the women are said to have taken a part by bringing pots of beer, and standing in the rear of the battle, whence they encouraged their husbands, and also ministered to their wants. These sudden calls to arms to contest the claims of justice were usually settled within a day, rarely with more serious casualties than a few bruises or spear wounds. After such a display of force the offenders would pay a fine, and settle the strife, with the necessary compensation for causing such trouble.

A word may be said about the nudity of pagan tribes of Africa. We who live in Western countries are apt to think such people utterly immoral; but this is a mistake, for the lack

of clothing does not mean that the tribes are depraved, though it points to a primitive condition. Morality depends rather upon the standard with which these people regard marriage and sex relations and upon their ideas of purity. We must study their social customs before we can gauge their moral condition. In most cases we shall find that men pay great respect to married women, and seldom try to encroach upon their rights; on the other hand among a few tribes young women live a free life, without any restraint on their sexual relations with men, until marriage takes place. Previous to marriage, nothing which a girl does short of becoming a mother is considered improper. In other tribes the real anxiety is to ascertain who is the father of a child, and to get him to take charge of the expectant mother until the child is born; there is no shame or blame cast upon the girl. Men invariably take a girl to wife under these circumstances, and the young woman suffers no reproach from her parents or friends for her conduct. Even when a man refuses to marry a woman who has a child which he acknowledges to be his own, he provides for the woman until the child is weaned, when he pays her parents a sum of money, and she goes back to them, leaving the child to the care of some member of his clan. The young woman is free to marry, and is not disgraced by having had a child, nor does she feel any grievance against the man who has not taken her to wife. Once again, in other parts of the country, as has been noted above concerning Ankole, girls are carefully guarded until their marriage, but after that has taken place, the married woman is expected to welcome her husband's guests to her couch. Before Christianity had established new rules of morality in accordance with its faith, there were only a few tribes in East Africa who restrained girls from having sexual intercourse with men before marriage; these tribes were chiefly pastoral.



## CHAPTER XV

### WANDERINGS AMONG THE BAGESHU AND THE BASOGA TRIBES

**I**N past years before the British occupation of the Nile Province it was unsafe to travel in districts inhabited by Bageshu without an armed escort. The tribes in those parts could only think of the white man as a foe, and it was a laudable action to attack and, if possible, to kill him. Reports had gone forth, spread chiefly by the Banyoro, that white men only sought to conquer countries for purposes of plunder and profit; hence tribes, shut off from the old trade routes, and only able to gain information from neighbours nearer Uganda, formed wrong impressions about Europeans, and tried to prevent them from entering their country. When we passed through the Bateso country, this state of affairs was changed, and it was possible for me to go on alone, riding my bicycle, in front of my carriers, without fear of attack; indeed we were all of us unarmed. There were two or three long marches through deserted tracts of country, where wild animals abounded, which were said to be dangerous to men travelling alone; lions, buffaloes, and elephants were said to be a menace to any single pedestrian. But in none of these places did I, or my special runner who carried my light refreshments, suffer, though we were often separated from the carriers and indeed from each other by some miles. The carriers could not keep pace with the special runner, and he could not keep pace with the bicycle for twenty miles while carrying the necessary packet, containing a few utensils for cooking a meal and the provisions. Yet the runner was seldom more than a mile behind me, and there was little to be gained by leaving him far behind, hence I often cycled at a rate of only six miles an hour, so that he could keep near me at his steady trot. The peaceable state in the country has been brought about through British occupation; a wise and tactful Muganda chief, Kakungulu, was placed

over the country, and without resorting to arms in a single instance he has been able to bring every chief into happy relations with the Government. Roads were made into every part of the district from one chief's residence to another, and Baganda chiefs were established in each district to rule, collect taxes, and organise cotton and rubber plantations. Most of the chiefs appointed were Christian Baganda, who built their little mud and wattle churches, and began a system of daily services, to which numbers of the Bateso youths went. These youths proved apt scholars, and soon began to learn to read and write; as I passed through the country, I found in various places boys who assembled daily for reading and general instruction, and at some of the places there were boys studying to become catechumens.

Fortunately for me the weather was good during the journey, for, as stated above, I had lost all my clothing; I did not once suffer from wet clothes, and consequently escaped colds and fever. Mount Elgon was reached without further adventure after my escapade with the thief; and there at Ngora I met an old friend, Mr Ormsby, the District Commissioner, who has since died from haematuria. He was one of those quiet, unassuming Englishmen, who do much good work without any ostentation, and pass away scarcely known to the outer world, and yet sadly missed by those who know them. Mr Ormsby did a splendid work among the wild tribes round Elgon and beyond to the border of Abyssinia, he gained the good opinion of the natives, and instilled in them such confidence of the English, that they welcomed English rulers to govern them and their states, and became loyal British subjects. While he was a capable administrator in his office, he was also a sympathetic friend to the native; he would sit in the evening over a wood fire, and talk to the poorest peasants, enter into their difficulties, and explain away their fears and perplexities.

The Bageshu, the tribe now encountered on Mount Elgon, were said to be treacherous, so that it was inadvisable for me to leave the beaten tracks and hunt for information respecting the

people and their customs; in fact my friend Ormsby asked me not to go among the people at all. He gave me all the information he could concerning social customs, and helped me especially in the matter of the caves which were reported to be on Elgon. The caves, mentioned by former travellers as having been inhabited by natives in the past, were an object of interest to me, and it was my intention to visit them; but my friend assured me nowhere in his district were there any caves of note or of value to science, so far as he had discovered, and that he had been over the mountain several times and had frequently camped on it, for the purpose of making investigations. He further stated that snow did not lie continually upon the summit, and that the many waterfalls which dash down the rocky sides for some hundreds of feet, looking magnificent, are the outlets from springs upon the mountain top, where there are several pools; and are not due to melting snow.

It did not take long to discover that the Bageshu were cannibals; this fact was ascertained from a description of death and the disposal of the dead given me by a man who was an authority in his clan. He said that no burial ever took place among them, and that if any person attempted to bury the dead, the body would soon be dug up during the night by animals. The description which he gave of the powers and astuteness of wild animals aroused my suspicion, especially when I noticed the undisturbed grave of a white man, so that when a second man on being questioned gave a different account, and when asked the direct question admitted that the members of the next clan ate portions of the dead, it became comparatively easy to obtain fuller information as to the ceremonial nature of cannibalism. The members of one clan accused another clan of cannibalism; the members of the accused clan professed their ability to explain the custom, though they denied practising it themselves, and accused the members of the first clan. They would not say more than that old women went out after dark, cut up the dead body, which had been placed

on waste ground near the village at sunset, and returned with special portions of it. They carried these portions into the village and cooked them during the night, whereupon a feast was made, to which only special members of the clan were admitted; the object of the meal was said to be the pacification of the ghost. The remains of the body were then left to the wild animals and carnivorous birds, which soon devoured them.

From this account, as it was related to me, and confirmed by different men, there can be little doubt that these feasts are ceremonial feasts in honour of the dead. The ghost is believed to remain in the locality, and large stones are placed on the small verandah near the door of the hut in which the deceased lived, and are regarded as the dwelling-place of the ghost; beer and at times a little food is placed near by in some vessel for its use.

\* Married women wear a grass girdle which passes between the legs; it is a mere pretence of clothing, more a token that the woman has entered the estate of matrimony than anything else; unmarried women go nude. The men are allowed to wear a goat skin mantle slung round the neck, and hanging down in front, after they have performed the initiation ceremonies and have been admitted into full membership. Women also undergo a special initiation ceremony at puberty, while those of either sex who refuse to pass this test of initiation become outcasts, disowned by their clans. Young women scarify their chests and foreheads at puberty, and the process of initiation for a girl is a long and painful undertaking, often resulting in dreadful sores which suppurate for months. I did not discover that a woman makes any public profession of adherence to ancient tribal customs. Men refuse to marry a woman who has no scarifications, and a woman refuses marriage with a man who has failed to undergo the initiation test. The performance of these ceremonies is watched by hundreds of people, and any sign of fear brands the person a coward. A man who has failed in fortitude will commit suicide rather than endure the

contempt of his companions. Those members of a clan who refuse to undergo the initiation rites are liable to be ill used or even killed, without protest from any other member of the clan. Both men and women pierce the lower lip for the insertion of a lipstone, which is about two inches long and half an inch in diameter; the stone is only worn by the person when fully dressed in all the finery of crude ornaments and bangles, but at other times the hole in the lip is left exposed.

The huts of these people are clustered together in groups, and such a cluster forms a village; they are inhabited by men of the same clan who call themselves brothers. Members of different clans seldom live in close proximity to each other; they are unable to exist side by side in the same village. Each hut has its own store-house at the back or near by; these are small huts built on large stones or wooden pillars, and thus raised one or more feet above the ground, to be free from damp and from the ravages of insects or animals. They are of basket work, plastered inside with mud and cow-dung, and are covered by a movable roof like a large umbrella, which can be tilted to one side, to enable the owner to take out grain.

There are frequent quarrels between the clans, indeed they are always ready to fight whenever they meet, having always some grievance calling for settlement. In these quarrels men are often wounded, sometimes severely. If a man dies from his wounds, it becomes the duty of all women relatives, even of those who are married to men of the hostile clan responsible for his death, to go to the place of mourning, leaving their husbands for the time being. As the clans are exogamous, that is to say men and women belonging to the same clan are not allowed to marry, it sometimes happens that the wife of the man who caused the death is a sister of the dead man; this circumstance does not, however, prevent her from going to the place of mourning, and she goes readily, and acts as though her husband were in full sympathy, even though he may have deliberately murdered the man. The

women are more masculine than most of their sex among the Bantu tribes; they do not take chastisement from their husbands so meekly as do women of other tribes, indeed there are reports that women have stood up to their husbands, to assert their equality if not their superiority, and have settled their disputes by free fight, in which the women proved superior to their husbands.

The homes of these people are crude, lacking any attempt at comfort; they are only shelters from the cold nights and climatic changes. Men, women, and children lie on the floor without any covering, and with no attempt to make a bed; the only warmth is that from the wood fire and that which they obtain from contact with each other. Though lacking any very definite religious ideas, they are superior to their neighbours the Bateso, for they have at least a belief in a supreme being and in numbers of spirits dwelling in trees, rocks, and water.

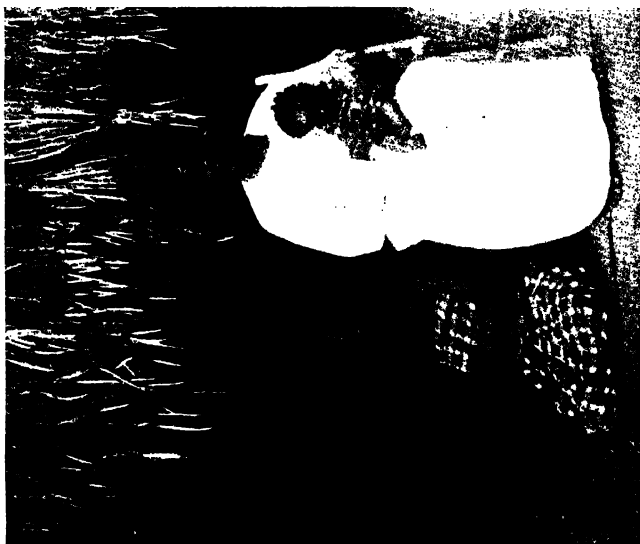
Magic, especially in connexion with rain-making, is universally practised and believed to be of great value; it is in the hands of the rain-makers who are an important body in the community. At the time of our visit to Elgon there had been some months of drought, and the chief rain-maker of the district had been called to account because of its continuance. The people did not think that this rain-maker was powerless to bring the needed rain, but that for some reason he was putting them off; after first begging him to bring the longed-for showers and praying him to cause rain to fall, they proceeded to complain that their crops were dying; next they used strong language, threatening him with serious bodily injury, unless he used his influence with the god of rain. It was all in vain; the rain did not come, the people, therefore, marched out against the unfortunate rain-maker, caught him, and so belaboured him, that they broke his leg, robbed him of all his possessions, and burned down his hut. The man was lying in a hut near the mission station when I arrived, and was being nursed by some lady missionaries, who set the leg and ministered to his needs.

After the people had taken these summary measures, they relented; they did not obtain rain, and now they thought that they had overstepped the bounds which their needs warranted, and that the gods would be angry with them for their action; they accordingly restored all the rain-maker's property, and made him an offering to compensate for his broken limb. Having pacified the rain-maker, they urged him to take some immediate steps to procure rain. As the man could not move owing to his broken limb, he had to act by deputy, and his assistant had to take an offering up the mountain to the rain-god. We saw this man as he was on his way with a companion; he was carrying two black fowls as his offering when he renewed his request for rain. Strangely enough, rain fell the next day; and this coincidence confirmed the opinion of the people that the man could bring rain, when he really wished to do so.

The old people say that they lived at one time on the higher slopes of Mount Elgon, and that they have gradually worked their way down into the plain in search of better plots for agricultural purposes, but even now they like the higher slopes better than the lower hills. These same old people remember the time when they kept certain caves in the upper part of the mountain provisioned and ready for immediate use, in case they were attacked by any strong enemy; every year with unfailing regularity there were raids made upon them by a tribe from the north, presumably Abyssinians, who carried off everything before them, killing men, and enslaving women and children. During these visits of raiders the people fled into the caves, which were difficult to approach, and could be defended by a small force. Cattle and sheep were taken into the caves, where they were hidden by day and herded by night upon the upper part of the mountain. From the valleys these people would be invisible during the day, and from their vantage ground they would be able to watch the movements of their adversaries. It is possible that these caves, which afforded shelter for the people during unsettled times when their country was overrun by

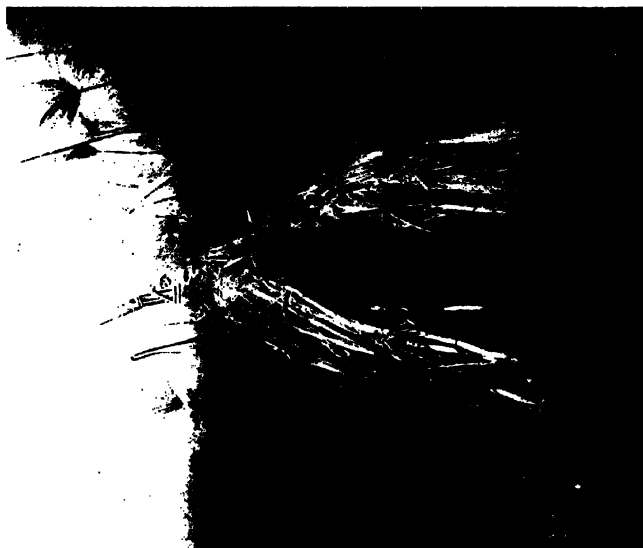


CHILD CARRYING WATER IN GOURD



HUSBAND, WIFE AND CHILD IN UGANDA





GHOST SHRINE ON LAKE KIOGA



HOMESTEAD WITH CANOE AND GHOST SHRINE,  
LAKE KIOGA

foes, have occasioned the statement to be made that there were permanent cave dwellers in these parts; on the other hand there may well have been a time when people resided permanently in the caves and sallied forth to cultivate their plots of land and herd their cattle. Or again, there may be tribes who still live in caves in parts of the country which I was unable to visit; the enmity which exists between clans is a sufficient reason for one clan being ignorant of the doings of another clan only a few miles distant; communication is limited, and travel impossible to them.

The bitterness which exists between the clans of the Bageshu is strong; no man is safe going about alone; they have even to visit friends in companies of two or three to be sure of meeting with no violence. Once a year, however, for a period of some five weeks, there is amity; all strife is put away, and there is perfect goodwill; it is then possible to exchange visits without any fear. This season comes after harvest, when an abundance of beer is brewed from millet, and men and women give themselves up to regular saturnalia; the gatherings are held in different villages in succession, according to pre-arranged plans for accumulating pots of beer, and they continue until the beer is consumed. During this time men and women disregard all matrimonial rights, and old and young of either sex yield to the most debased forms of licentiousness and animal passion. As a rule these feasts are held when young men and women have fulfilled the initiation ceremonies, and for the first time are able to take their part in the feasts as fully qualified members of the clan. No one is allowed to carry any weapon during this period; they go about with bamboo staves six or seven feet long, but these are the holders of the long beer tubes, through which they suck their beer from a common pot. The mode of drinking is to place a large pot in an open space, where there is sitting room for twenty or more people round it; every man then places his tube in the pot, and sucks the beer while he talks freely. Singing and dancing take place at the time of

drinking, and the revelry continues by day and by night until the beer is ended, when the party moves on to the next village, where a further supply of beer is provided. There is no quarrelling during this time of drinking, but disputes and old feuds are carefully kept aside; any misunderstandings arising from the effects of the beer are settled quickly by the majority, and all meet on the common ground of friendship and goodwill.

The journey from Mount Elgon to Busoga is a pleasant run for a cyclist in fair weather, for the road passes through some beautiful stretches of country with clumps of wood; and often these contain splendid specimens of ferns, tropical flowers, and grasses. The undulating character of the country lends picturesqueness to the ever varying scene; sometimes the traveller is on an eminence overlooking a wide expanse of grass and scrub, or again he is on a fairly level tract of land, ending with a sharp dip through a woody dale with fine trees and flowering plants, and also full of animal and bird life, while insects abound, each with its peculiar interest calling for special investigation; again plant life new to his eye, and possibly to science, arrests the attention of the traveller at every turn. The cyclist dismounts, enchanted with these scenes, as he gazes first over an expanse and then on some coppice; he longs for time and leisure to study these beauties of nature, and for knowledge to understand them. He may perhaps be tempted to pick some new flower, while he longs to be able to penetrate into the unknown depths of the wooded belt, but he is forced to put aside these allurements and to press onward to his camp and follow his own particular line of research. Should, however, the journey be undertaken in wet weather, and in a hurry, it becomes a wearisome task; the paths are slippery in some places and sticky in others; both for the pedestrian and the cyclist it means heavy work; there are indeed places on the road where the wheels of the bicycle clog so quickly, that it is impossible to ride, and the machine has to be carried, which is a heavy and formidable burden in a

tropical country, especially when the traveller is alone and in a hurry to reach a distant locality. We were fortunate in this respect, for the weather was charming. I had visited Busoga before, and had lived some months in Luba's country; at that time food was plentiful, and the country prosperous; it was therefore distressing on the present occasion to see the people reduced to a state of want and starvation.

We had not passed far into Busoga, before we began to meet with tokens of famine: men and women dead, or dying by the roadside; they perished in the attempt to reach the Government relief camps which had been opened in different places. The scene at the Central Relief Camp was a sight never to be forgotten, especially the emaciated forms of the people, many of them so weak that they had to be treated medically, but even among these there were numbers dying daily, who had reached the camp too late to be able to benefit by the kind treatment. Other cases were painful to watch: mothers seemed to have lost all feeling of affection and responsibility for their children; they snatched the food from them, and ate it greedily themselves, and they fought like beasts for the supplies of food doled out daily to them by the officers. Our stay was made as brief as possible, as we carried food for two or three days only, and therefore could not remain, it being impossible to obtain fresh supplies; nor was our further presence of value, since we could do nothing to help the efficient staff of workers, and on the contrary might become a burden by giving them additional work in entertaining us. When going to Bukedi a few weeks previously, we had passed through the northern part of Busoga, and there had learnt something of the people and their customs, before the famine had become severe. But here in Luba's country the chiefs were all busy at the relief camps, assisting the Government officers and the missionaries in distributing food to the famine stricken peasants. It was impossible to find anyone able to give us information concerning the customs or the history of the tribe, and we therefore resumed our journey.

South Busoga suffered most from the famine, but the people were in many, if not all, instances themselves to blame, though they attributed it to the Government. When the men were called away for state labour, such as road making, carrying burdens, and other Government work or building, the women refused to continue cultivation in their plantations, and allowed them to run wild, so that they ceased to bear fruit; this was because the men had, according to old customs, been responsible for the heavier work of digging and tilling the land. The women under the altered labour conditions would not move a hand to keep their plots of land cultivated, but demanded the help of their husbands, before they would bestir themselves. When the husbands returned from their work at a distance, after being absent in some cases for a month, many of the wives refused to cook for them, and left their men folk to manage as best they could for themselves. These, who had been taken from home for work against their will, naturally resented such harsh treatment from their wives, became sullen in their homes, and refused to help them, and this discord soon produced a harvest of trouble in the shape of famine. Things went from bad to worse, until the plantain trees ceased to bear any fruit, and the plantations ran wild. The land famous for the abundance of its plantains became barren and unproductive through neglect.

The plantain is the staple food of the Basoga; no grain is grown except a kind of bitter millet used for fermenting beer; hence famine and death had to be faced when the plantations ceased to yield fruit. In some of these famine stricken districts there were small settlements of Baganda, who had ample food for their own needs, but could not supply markets, or satisfy the starving people; indeed they had to guard their fields by day and by night against determined attempts by the starving neighbours to rob them. Still, the presence of these Baganda owning trees bearing ample fruit proved that the famine was not due to climatic causes, such as lack of rain, but was owing to the discontent

among the women and their rebellious spirit, which caused them to refrain from cultivating their plantations because of the forced labour question. Before the British occupation Busoga was ruled by Baganda chiefs, but for various reasons, especially because of an accusation made against the Baganda by the Basoga, that the former plundered their land every time they came to collect state taxes, Busoga was taken from the Baganda, and administered by a British officer. The Baganda very naturally resented this large tract of country being taken from them, but they were unable to convince the British authorities of their intention to reform and to prevent any unjust taxation or robbery in the future; so the land passed into other hands. But the British Government came to realise that their régime had not been the best, and that they had been deceived by the Basoga chiefs; hence it was decided to return to the old custom of rule.

When the famine ended, a Muganda chief was placed over the Basoga, who was to endeavour to reform the country, and to prevent any similar disaster occurring; for a time he was successful in bringing about a better state of affairs, but afterwards he became dissatisfied, because he was not sure that he had the support of his superiors, the British officers; he therefore asked to be relieved from his office. There is no reason to doubt the complaint made by the Baganda that the Basoga are indolent; they need to be restrained from idleness and encouraged to labour. No doubt there were instances of excessive taxation when the Baganda ruled them, and the king sent his minions to collect the yearly tax. Still, the Baganda knew the people and their tendency to idleness, and they understood how to deal with them, so that there might always be an abundance of food. The British officer gave the chiefs too free a hand in managing their country, and the people, who did not respect their own chiefs, took advantage of the kindness shown by him.

Busoga is divided into three states, each with its tribe of people differing in various respects from their neighbours, though retaining common characteristics; in remote times

each state was tributary to an adjacent race. The state known as Luba's country has for many years belonged to Uganda; another state belonged to Bunyoro; while the third was more or less independent, but sought help from the Bateso or Bukedi, whenever a chief died, and there was a difference of opinion as to the new ruler. For many years the Baganda have ruled these three states and have maintained harmony between the different tribes. The Basoga used to send their representatives to the Uganda court, whenever they had any business to lay before the king, and these visits often lasted for a period of several months. For this reason a site in Uganda was apportioned to the Basoga near the capital, with land and plantain groves, which supplied them with food during these prolonged visits. Retainers of the Basoga chiefs lived on these estates and kept them cultivated. There were usually several Basoga lads among the royal pages, learning court etiquette, and being taught how to rule; they were generally the sons of important chiefs.

Whenever there was any disturbance in Busoga, sub-chiefs, sent by their superior chiefs, visited the king of Uganda to report the trouble and obtain advice. When these messengers went to the king, they took with them a worthy present, either of ivory or women and cattle; and also a present to the chief through whose country they had to pass; this chief was their Uganda representative and had to introduce them to the king of Uganda. When the king was in need of slaves, or wished for more cattle, he would send to Busoga and would be given ample to satisfy his desires. The loss of this district was therefore a serious matter to the Baganda. The king did not tax the Basoga yearly, as he did his own people in Uganda, but sent his representatives whenever he thought it was time that they should give him a present. There were undoubtedly cases of oppression which called for investigation, and there was need of a more carefully organised method of raising the taxes, but nevertheless the Baganda understood the Basoga, whom they really helped and governed wisely on the whole. It is impossible to think

of the country suffering from famine or in other ways under the old régime, to the extent that it has done since it became a separate state under the lenient British rule. With the accession of native Christian rulers in Uganda, wise and equitable laws were being made, which would have brought about the necessary reform in regard to taxation in Busoga, and would also have put right the oppression which had been caused by untrustworthy chiefs sent by the king.

Many of the Busoga customs are similar to those of Uganda, and for many years the people have adopted a dialect of Luganda, but, owing to the Busoga custom of extracting some three of the front teeth, the people speak with a lisp which considerably alters the sound of words. Left to manage for themselves, they are not so capable as the Baganda, though a few, who in past years have been trained in Uganda, have shown great mental abilities, and have been in no way inferior to the Baganda in scholastic attainments. The Basoga houses are neatly built, and the floors of the huts are better made than those of the majority of huts in Uganda. The enclosures of chiefs, however, are not kept in such a neat state as those of chiefs of corresponding importance in Uganda.

The old chief Luba, who was the man who arrested Bishop Hannington, and carried out king Mwanga's orders to execute him, was a fine specimen of a Musoga chief. My first visit to his country and first meeting with the old chief took place some seven years after the Bishop's death, when I went to open a mission centre among the Basoga people. Luba, who was in full power at the time, used to hold his councils under a tree, with two or three of his chief wives sitting behind him; one of these carried a gourd of beer and his special drinking cup, so that he might refresh himself when the burden of business became tedious; another carried his shield and spear, while the third had charge of the rug on which he sat; all three watched the gathering, and if there were any signs of unruly conduct or disorder, the chief was warned, and his weapons were placed in his hand, ready to strike if necessary. Many of



the chiefs who attended the gathering also carried pots of beer, and most of the meetings ended with Luba and his chiefs becoming too intoxicated to transact further business.

Busoga has to-day become 'nominally Christian, though there are still numbers of people living in heathenism, and the education of the Christians is far from complete. As warriors the Basoga were never noted for their prowess, though they were at times called upon by their chiefs to settle tribal disputes by force. Slings for casting stones were then used with great skill and accuracy, and ugly dents in the skulls of some of their opponents testified to their accuracy of aim in this method of warfare. For years past Busoga has been noted for its large plantain groves and the abundance of vegetable food; but since the demand for labour was made by the British Government, the food supply has fallen off, and, as mentioned above, the women have refused to work the fields without the men, and this has had disastrous results on the splendid plantations.

Luba's country, which lies upon the great Lake Victoria, is noted for its canoes and canoemen; in the past there were no better canoes on the lake than those of Busoga, though the men seldom paddled far from their own shores, except to visit the islands of the Bavuma where markets were held, and whither they carried vegetable food to exchange for fish, pottery, and fish nets.

In certain quarters in England Luba bears the stigma of having been the murderer of Hannington, and most people think of him as a cruel old savage. But the old man was not a ruffian even when he committed the murder, for he merely carried out his instructions and did his duty to his king. From our point of view it was a horrible murder, but Luba looked upon the deed as an act of duty, and as he was a pagan with superstitious ideas, and moreover a man who frequently had to put people to death for trivial offences, it was not such a shocking deed for him and his people to kill an intruder like Hannington; indeed he felt he was rendering his country a service. To me personally Luba was most kind, and when I

visited him to open a mission in his country, he wanted to give me a large present of ivory. When this was refused, he was disappointed and could not understand why I would not accept his present; he then asked me to accept twenty milch cows and several goats, and when I told him that I did not desire any such present, he said he was unable to understand the purpose of my visit; when it was explained that my purpose was to teach him and his people, he replied: "I have never before found people refuse ivory and cows." He was not satisfied until I made a compromise, and took two cows and their calves for milk, and two or three goats for meat. From that time to the end of his life Luba remained a constant friend to me, and frequently sent a servant to visit me in Uganda with a present of two or three goats. Though the old man learned a good deal about Christianity, he never became a pronounced Christian, but died without making any profession of faith in Christ, so far as I know.

The Basoga are addicted to smoking Indian hemp, and this makes them stupid and often stubborn; apart from this vice and that of drinking beer to excess, the people are equal to the average African in intellect. For years they have been notorious for their tendency to kleptomania, which has developed into a system of robbing houses by digging under the walls and entering by a tunnel. It is said to have been a common thing to hear a man digging his way under the walls of a house, coming up inside, and carrying off such goods as he considered valuable. So common was this method of theft, that the better houses were built with a layer of stones embedded round their walls some two feet deep, so as to hamper thieves in digging. As I passed through Luba's district, a teacher told me that his house had been dug into a few nights previously, but fortunately he was awake and heard the thief, and waited for him to come up inside. When what he mistook for the man's head appeared, he speared it with all his force, but soon found that the thief had pushed up a bundle of bark-cloth before him, to make sure of his safety, and, finding the inmate ready for him, he had left the bark-cloth, withdrawn from the tunnel, and escaped before the door could be opened.

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE BANYORO AND THEIR AGRICULTURAL DEPENDANTS

WHAT has been written above concerning the pastoral tribe of Ankole, has to some extent anticipated what we shall have to say of the Banyoro, who form one of the most important pastoral tribes of East Central Africa. There was a time when the king of Bunyoro was the most influential of all the Central African kings, when he ruled the greater part of Uganda, and his kingdom stretched far down into Southern Uganda and included also much of the Northern part of that country. The kingdom of Toro did not then exist, for the wide domains of Bunyoro extended to the borders of the Dark Forest. The people of Ankole lived in fear of their cousins the Banyoro, and maintained peace with them by frequent gifts of cattle. To the north and away to the north-west and the north-east of Bunyoro, the tribes felt it wise to maintain friendly relations with the Bunyoro kings, and sent annual presents of slaves and cattle. The extent of the kingdom, and the honour in which the king was held, will be the more readily understood, when we learn how essential it was for the king to be a warrior, and also to prove his prowess, before he could mount the throne.

Pastoral tribes did not set great value upon the extent of land they owned, but were satisfied so long as they were able to pasture their cattle; the serfs, who were an agricultural tribe, were at liberty to settle in any part of the country where they pleased, and were never severely taxed except to render labour, while when vegetables or goats were demanded, it was as voluntary gifts rather than as payment of taxes. These agricultural people were in all probability the original possessors of the soil, who had been reduced to serfdom by the stronger warriors; they settled in any place where they wished, and gave as much or as little vegetable

food or grain, to king or chief as they felt inclined. The pastoral Banyoro had no care for agricultural land, but only wanted good pasture land, and gardens were not considered so important by them as they would have been by the Baganda, who combined cattle rearing with agriculture, and who meted out every yard of land to some chief, who was expected to people and cultivate it, and who would be deposed, if he failed in these respects. Hence large tracts of country were wrested from the Banyoro by the Baganda with little expenditure of force, before the former people really felt the loss of their land. Another reason which caused the king of Bunyoro to overlook the importance of land, was the custom of estimating greatness and wealth according to the number of cattle which a man had. So long, therefore, as the herds escaped the punitive expeditions of the Baganda, little heed was paid by the Banyoro to encroachments into their land; thus the Baganda yearly pressed back the Banyoro herdsmen, settled in large numbers upon the newly acquired land, and extended their boundaries.

Readers who wish to know more of the early state of Bunyoro, judged from a traveller's point of view, will do well to consult Sir Samuel Baker's account of his visit to the country and of what he found there.

Cattle were the chief object and end of life for a man who belonged to a pastoral tribe, and even the life after death was believed to be influenced and regulated by pastoral customs. The king and his people not only enjoyed cattle here on earth, but expected to have the pleasure of owning herds in the spirit world. Pasture land was so common and abundant, that the thought does not appear to have entered into their minds that anyone would contest their right to pasture their cattle where they liked.

My personal contact with the people did not begin until the British had established their rule in Bunyoro. Previously, it had <sup>been</sup> impossible to enter the country, owing to the fierce and determined opposition of Kabarega, the former king, who strongly condemned the king of Uganda and his

subjects for having invited the British into Uganda. To make his strong disapproval more acutely felt, king Kabarega began a series of petty invasions into the states of Uganda bordering on Bunyoro. These invasions had to be resisted by Baganda troops, who endeavoured to police the frontier and stave off marauding armies; but at length the raids became so persistent, that the British took up the cause and organised an expedition, in which the king was driven from his capital and became a fugitive. After months of wandering he was captured, and was deported to Seychelles, where he still lives. For some months after he had vacated his capital, he was able to evade all the efforts made to capture him, and he might have continued a free man for some time longer, had not some of his agricultural followers, whose duty it was to act as porters and to help him to move from place to place, owing to war-weariness and scarcity of food, betrayed him. Even when brought to bay, the old warrior was not captured before he had made a good stand and fought for liberty; he lost an arm through a bullet shattering the bone, and this made it impossible for him to hold his rifle any longer. When a fugitive he was able to obtain his daily food, which consisted of milk, because his herds could be kept at no great distance, and milk could be carried to him wherever he went; it was otherwise with the agricultural peasants, they were unable to grow their crops or obtain vegetable food, and were beginning to feel the pinch of hunger, as their supplies of corn gave out, hence they betrayed the hiding place of their lord. With the fall of Kabarega a new mode of government began in Bunyoro, which continues to the present.

The British Government elected a son of Kabarega to follow his father upon the throne, but, as he soon proved to be incompetent, he was deposed, and his brother was placed on the throne, who has proved more capable.

• In Bunyoro the customs that decided which prince should succeed a deceased king differed considerably from those followed by the Baganda, or by any of the tribes round Uganda. The king, they thought, must not grow old nor become

feeble through age or sickness and unable to carry on his regal duties, nor, again must he die a natural death, unless it be sudden. When he found himself unable to fulfil his office, it was his duty to end his life, while still in possession of his full powers, by drinking a dose of poison. It may strike us with wonder that no king should have tried to evade this step, but we are told that the king was always ready to perform this act, if he felt indisposed; and no doubt the belief he had of the next life was the cause of his readiness to depart from the present one. It was commonly believed that the king at death began his life in the ghostly world in royal estate, and reigned with his predecessors. Cattle, servants, slaves and retainers formed his retinue and wealth, and were the manifestation of his greatness; hence it was considered right to execute a large number of people and to kill many cattle at the open grave of a king, when the funeral took place, so that the ghosts of the people and the cattle might accompany him into the new world. This following of retainers and slaves and cattle gave the king honour, as he entered into the presence of his ancestors, while the lack of it would have been a cause of shame. It therefore depended upon the living, whether a king went with honour and wealth, or with poverty and shame to the other world. The execution of hundreds of people and the sacrifice of large numbers of cattle were performed at the grave, because it was believed that it pleased the departed, while the accompanying ghosts placed him in a position of power, and made him willing to assist the living. Malevolent ghosts who injured the cattle might, it was thought, be those of royal persons, who were vexed with the living either for neglecting to keep up a supply of animal sacrifices to them, or for sending too small a number of people for their retinue at the time of burial.

Ghosts of common people remained in the neighbourhood of the living, and became hostile, if they were not given offerings, of cattle at their funeral and afterwards from time to time. Apart from these ghosts the Banyoro had no conception of spirits either good or bad; the spirit world they thought was

peopled by the disembodied souls of the living. In every instance men have greater honour paid to them than women, who receive little or none, either during life or in death. In the other world, it was believed, there were social conditions similar to those of this world, that is, men and women marry and live with families, much as they do here, and cattle are necessary to the pastoral people, while the agricultural clans have their fields and crops. With such beliefs, it was merely the process of leaving this world, often through suffering, which caused the people a moment's fear; they were anxious not to die from a painful lingering illness, especially if that illness was caused by some unfriendly person who was working his spite through magical means. The mutilation which caused pain and inconvenience in the present life and also debarred the ghost from future happiness was even more dreaded.

When the king ended his life, the question arose who should be his successor; this was decided by the princes taking arms, each securing what following he could, and fighting with his brothers, until all the princes were killed but one, and he claimed the throne. In these wars only the peasants were allowed to take an active part by bearing arms and fighting under the princes, while the chiefs were neutral, and formed a guard to protect the body of the deceased king, and to prevent any prince from carrying it away, before a true decision had been arrived at by the superiority of arms. The prince who buried the deceased king was regarded as the victorious prince who had the right to reign. During these wars fires were extinguished throughout the country, and were only lighted when needed for cooking purposes, and put out after the meal had been prepared. Fire for this purpose had to be obtained by friction from the fire-sticks. Cultivation was at a standstill; no man or woman was allowed to attend to his field until the new king was enthroned; to meet any such emergency, the agricultural classes kept a reserve of grain hidden away in some spot, where a pit, like a well, was dug from six to eight feet deep,

the grain stored in baskets, and the place covered and concealed as far as possible. No person was allowed to do any work beyond cooking food and carrying fire-wood and water, until the new king was proclaimed. The land was in a state of warfare and anarchy, so that the stronger took food and cattle from the weaker with impunity, indeed no property was secure. On this account animals were hurried away when the king's death was announced, and kept for safety in remote places, while all food stores and other possessions were hidden away until the restoration of peace and order. A prolonged war crippled all agricultural pursuits, and caused shortness of food, if not famine.

The milk customs of the pastoral clans are most interesting, and a knowledge of them is necessary in order to understand why it is so difficult for a stranger travelling in some parts of the country to obtain milk, or again why it is so difficult to introduce new industries among the people. Many an Englishman when he first came into contact with tribes owning cows, could not understand why it was that the owners refused to sell him a little milk, and made feeble excuses for withholding it, when articles which they prized and wanted were offered them in exchange. A slight knowledge of their customs soon sets the mind at rest in this respect; we learn that no one is allowed to give milk to any person outside the tribe, without first ascertaining what food the man has been eating, and also to what purpose the milk is to be put, lest his herd should suffer from infection, caused by milk coming in contact with other food in the stomach, or by being used in some unlawful way, such as being boiled, or poured into hot tea, or into iron vessels. Even among themselves a visitor will be kept for some hours from eating other food, in order to be prepared for a milk diet, because he may have been eating vegetable food, or drinking beer and eating beef a short while before his arrival; and to drink milk while such food is in his stomach is considered detrimental to the animals. In the case of an Englishman there is not only the danger of the food which he may have been eating but also the risk that in all



probability he will put the milk into vessels which the cowman regards as hurtful to his cows, or use it in some way which may cause the flow of milk from the herd to stop, and may bring sickness among them. These and many other milk customs make it impossible for the members of a pastoral tribe to sell, or to give, milk to any person whose habits they are not familiar with, lest by so doing they should ruin their herd of cows.

A difficulty among pastoral peoples which has not yet been overcome by the British Government is that of labour; no man or woman of a pastoral tribe is allowed to do manual labour, and digging or working on the land is considered especially detrimental to their calling as pastoral people. Hence no woman may do any work other than that of washing the few milk vessels or churning, and by their tribal habits women are idle for the greater part of the day and ready for any excitement or doubtful amusement which comes in their way. A man, even the poorest person among the pastoral tribes, is allowed to do little more manual labour than that of building a grass hut for himself or making a hole for water for drinking purposes for his cattle; his duties are limited to the care of the cows; to carry loads, to dig, or to cultivate is to his mind most baneful, and likely to cause sickness in his herd. These are real difficulties, as they present themselves to the minds of the pastoral tribes; and without some knowledge of these customs and beliefs Europeans are disposed to consider the men lazy and wish to force them to work.

Missionaries have found it difficult to discover some kind of work which women may do, to employ their hands and occupy their minds, and so keep them from an idleness which too often leads to immoral conduct. There is also the strange custom of polyandry which has to be dealt with in connexion with these women. This custom entirely reverses the ideas of morality which are common to most tribes in the Uganda Protectorate, and it raises many difficult matrimonial questions. Girls and young women previous to marriage are most chaste; they are kept strictly; no mother of any civilised

nation could be more careful as to her daughter's behaviour. When, however, marriage has been contracted, the laws of hospitality are of a peculiarly binding nature and remove all the ties of matrimonial honour, as it is understood by most people. A man is obliged to welcome his guest to his wife's couch, and must not cherish any jealousy as to his wife's behaviour. Such customs have far reaching effects upon the tribes concerned, and they need to be carefully studied by men who know the natives and their mode of life.

It will readily be understood how heavy the work in such countries must be for the serfs belonging to the agricultural class when, in addition to having their home duties to fulfil and houses to build for their masters, they have to undertake all the labour consequent upon British rule and progress, such as the making of roads, and the carrying of all kinds of material for Government purposes, in a country just opening up to Western civilisation. In addition these same persons are expected to cultivate cotton, rubber, and coffee, to meet the standard set by some official, who knows little about the people or their customs. Agriculture is of all things the most objectionable kind of work which pastoral people can conceive, and their inbred and rooted objection to it, the result of generations of rigid teaching, makes them resist to the last all attempts to force them to undertake manual labour. The wonder is that they have not risen in a body, and killed many of their so-called benefactors, whom they consider their oppressors. Can we be surprised that there are many pagans who still think that cattle disease is the direct result of the constant disregard of their old customs, or who say that sleeping sickness is due to the anger of offended gods, who are taking revenge by killing large numbers of people for indignities heaped upon them? Natives require time to learn, and need instructors who will bear patiently with them, who will study their difficulties, and not try to enforce new rules and methods which they do not understand, and which their past training has taught them to resist with all their might. It is comparatively easy to make them sceptical

regarding their old customs, but that does not convince them that the new methods are right; and as a member of the pastoral tribes has never been taught to do manual labour, it is hard upon his convictions to force him to begin work which he finds fatiguing, and which brings a remuneration for which he has no use.

The physical features of Bunyoro are much the same as those of Uganda. There is more humidity in Uganda than in other parts of Equatorial Africa, owing to the lakes and rivers which supply so much moisture to the atmosphere, and in this peculiarity Bunyoro shares to a considerable extent. This moisture naturally makes it a green land; trees are always in leaf, most of them being evergreen, and grass is always green; the humidity is also favourable for agriculture, but no pastoral tribe wish to see their grass land turned into fields; they want as much grazing land as possible for their large herds. So far as I am aware, no attempt has been made to utilise in any way the skill and love which the pastoral tribes have for cattle, nor to make this part of Africa a cattle-ranch for supplying milk, cheese, and tinned meat. This could be done profitably and would provide not only for the immediate needs of Africa, but also for increased shipping demands, whilst quantities might be exported to Europe. Such an industry might prove to be an outlet for a vast amount of latent skill, while it would also bring thousands of people under willing subjection to the British rule. Again the milk from the vast herds of goats might easily be utilised for the purpose of making cheese, whereas at present it is never used, and though in recent years the skins have found a market, the carcasses have been discarded or sold at a loss or given away; there is room for considerable development in these respects. Such industries would be congenial to several large tribes in the Uganda Protectorate, while at present they groan and writhe under the attempts to make them turn to agricultural pursuits and manual labour of a distasteful nature.

The houses and homes of the pastoral people are of the poorest possible kind; they are merely shelters from changes

of climate, from cold, heat, or rain, and they afford a little more safety for sleep during the night than can be secured when lying in the open, exposed to wild animals. There is no attempt to make the hut of the poor man comfortable; it is only high enough to enable the inmates to stand upright in the centre, and wide enough to allow them to spread out at night a roughly dressed cow-hide, upon which they sleep, stretching themselves near the fire for warmth, with little or no covering. As milk is their chief diet, no provision is made for cooking; but should they obtain any beef, it is cooked upon wooden spits stuck into the ground round the fire; no other method of cooking meat is used, and there is no desire to learn. Meat is obtained when an animal dies, or when it is accidentally killed by falling into some pit, or when it is attacked by wild beasts and maimed, and it becomes necessary to kill it; otherwise an animal is seldom slaughtered. No matter what the cause of death may be, the meat is cut up and eaten by the poorer class of herdsmen. No sanitary arrangements are made by these nomads to keep their homes healthy; the ordinary dung heap in the kraal is used for all purposes of sanitation; hence it is well that they have to move on from place to place after a short time of residence, and that both huts and kraal soon disappear before the tropical rain and sun; and so the place is cleansed by atmospheric influence. The grass fires which take place annually with unfailing regularity are a boon to the people in many ways, for not only is the old vegetation removed, but also many kinds of insects are destroyed and the ground is made ready for the rains to wash the surface, and cause the beneficial chemicals from the burnt grass to sink into the ground and fertilise the new grass for the cattle. Reptiles are also kept down by these fires, and many kinds of cattle ticks and lice are cleared off, which would otherwise make the land unbearable.

The agricultural clans are naturally wedded to localities near their plots of arable land; these build more durable huts than do the pastoral clans, but even their houses are very inferior to those of Uganda and Busoga. These serfs are also of a lower type than the Basoga and live in a miserable condition;

they are not unlike the serfs on Luenzori. Their staple food is small millet, which they grind into flour by rubbing the grain between stones, and then they make the flour into porridge. They rear herds of goats, which are especially used for the purchase of wives; they seldom slaughter one of them for food, except upon some ceremonial occasion, such as a wedding, or when they are obliged to honour some ghost. Both men and women work in the fields; they hoe the ground with short handled hoes having iron blades; they turn it up into rough clods, leaving it to be pulverised by the sun and rain. Millet is dropped into holes made by digging the hoe into the earth and lifting a little soil out, two or three grains of millet being then dropped into each hole, and covered by pushing back the earth with the foot. When land ceases to bear well, it is left to rest for a period of two or three years, during which time another plot is cultivated.

The pastoral tribes are particular about the clothing of their women, though the men are indifferent to dress and wear only a small cape over their shoulders; the women are covered from head to foot, and, like their Bahima sisters, they are careful not to expose their faces when they go abroad. Among the agricultural clans in this country the custom of clothing is different; both men and women wear merely a loin-cloth, or a garment which is frequently only the skin of a goat tied round the loins. Before the advent of the European government there were no roads in Bunyoro, but only tracks leading from one part of the country to another, and the grass was kept trodden down by people passing with their herds to and from the capital. The king with his leading chiefs had a settled place of abode which was termed his capital; it was merely a collection of poorly built huts with rude elephant-grass fences round them; outside this enclosure the principal chiefs were desired to build their huts, in order to be the better able to guard their king from the attacks of any foe. The huts of the chiefs were inferior to those of the king, and were always untidy owing to the presence of cattle and the litter which the animals made; even the huts of the king were inferior to those of the peasants in Uganda.

The country<sup>a</sup> was divided into districts with nominal boundaries; each district had a chief who ruled over it and was responsible for the conduct of the peasants. The land valuation differed from that in Uganda: there the arable land was chiefly prized, whereas here the pasturage was the more valued. The serfs paid no pre-arranged rent, but gave a yearly present of corn to the over-lord, as much or as little as they chose. The value of having a district lay in the fact that every chief was able to keep his cattle separate from those of his neighbour, and was also able to regulate his pasturage within his own boundaries, and to provide for a continual supply of food for his large herds by burning off the coarse overgrowth, while the herds pastured in another place. There was no taxation of a fixed nature, though people living near the salt districts, as being the richest in the country, were asked by the king for salt for the use of his household. Bunyoro has for many years been the great salt producing country of this part of Africa, and has supplied most of the markets for miles round with this valuable commodity, so eagerly sought after by every class. The craving for salt among peoples who are almost entirely vegetarians is great, and high prices used to be paid to retailers, who made up small packets of salt and sold them in the market places. Salt was obtained from certain rivers, and from one of the lakes, where the brine encrusts on the edge of the water, and is gathered with a quantity of sand, washed, and boiled down by the women of the district. The railway has now made it possible to obtain a much better quality of salt from the coast at small cost, and this has to a large extent taken the place of the native salt, which is of a poor quality, and full of grit and soda. The time may come when some enterprising company may start salt works in these regions; and possibly it may also discover some valuable drug in the waters of the volcanic springs, which produce the salt water. Until then the native must be satisfied with his primitive and inexpensive methods of winning the salt and supplying the needs of his brethren.

## CHAPTER XVII

### NILOTIC KAVIRONDO—GLIMPSES OF TRIBES ON THE WAY TO THE COAST—MOMBASA WITH ITS NEW ENVIRONMENTS

SOME day when the migrations of the tribes of Africa shall be known, we may be able to unravel the mystery of the Nilotics, as to who they are and whence they came, and to show the relation of one tribe to the other; at present we can only make surmises and rough guesses, from certain common features and customs which point to relationship, and from the affinity of the languages. The Nilotic Kavirondo, about whom I wish to say a little, live in the hills near Lake Victoria, but differ almost in every respect from the Bantu Kavirondo, who live in the plains and on the shore of the lake. These Nilotic people are absolutely nude and think clothing indecent; when a Christian mission was started among them, and some youths who had been staying at a boarding school went home wearing clothes, their parents scolded them for doing so, and told them they were to put their clothes away until they went back to school, and not to bring disgrace upon their village by wearing them.

In these mountain homes the mornings and evenings are cold, yet the people do not seem to feel the changes of temperature; they move along happily in the early mornings in the sharp air as though they enjoyed it, making journeys to their fields in the valleys. The young men often use oxen as riding animals; one particular sight I well remember, which was as amusing as it was interesting. A number of young men were to be seen riding about on oxen which trotted along at a good pace. Each animal was guided by a rod, held first on one side of the head, and then the other, to turn it as the rider wished it to go. The animals were evidently accustomed to the task, and I learned that these youths used them for riding when making journeys in

their neighbourhood. The people are fond of personal ornaments and of decorating themselves with paint; they make straw hats which are in size and shape like dolls' hats, quite unsuited for any useful purpose; these tiny hats are fastened on the head with a string passing under the chin. One young man who visited me was particularly impressed by my spectacles, and followed me about, unable to tear himself away until he had satisfied himself that they were artificial and no growth, though at the time I was unconscious of the cause of his attentions. On the following day he appeared with a pair of straw rims round his eyes in imitation of my spectacles, and solemnly sat in front of me without a word, until he had been noticed and commended for his ingenuity in making these spectacles, and for fastening them on so cleverly with fine string.

There appears to be no regular form of worship of gods, and they know little or nothing about working magic; they have, however, a form of worship of the dead; for other purposes they employ a medicine-man from an outside tribe to be their priest and rain-maker, and pay him in kind for his work, in addition to making him a regular allowance of food, providing a house and giving him honour in their midst. The medicine-man whom I saw was a member of one of the Bantu tribes, and his special art was in accordance with the customs of his own people. Apart from this borrowed priest and his religion, the people follow their own rites of the worship of the dead; they believe in a world of ghosts, and take elaborate precautions to pacify them. When a man dies, he is buried beneath the floor of his house, and his widow continues to live in it, separated from other women; she has to be particularly chaste during the months of mourning, and has to keep a pot of beer standing on the grave for the ghost, and to keep the hut tidy. Her girdle of grass, which is the mark of a married woman in this district, is taken off and placed over the door on the roof, as a token to any visitor that the man is dead, and that his widow is mourning for him.

There is a belief that ghosts can be detained by the living;



indeed all ghosts are detained, until certain ceremonies have been performed by the relatives, in order to release them from their old haunts and enable them to go to the ghost world; should these ceremonies be neglected, the poor ghost is detained, and is angered and becomes dangerous to the community. In like manner when a man murders another, or wounds him so that he dies from the wound, or when in battle one man kills another, the warrior or the murderer has to perform certain ceremonies, which release the ghost from the person of him who killed him, and until he consents to do so the ghost is captive, though it longs to go away. Should a man refuse to perform the rites, it is believed that the ghost will eventually seize and strangle him. When a man has killed another either wilfully or accidentally, he is secluded for a time from his companions and lives in a hut built at the entrance of the village, where he is fed by an old woman, because he must not touch food with his hands, since they are contaminated, and might convey death to him. At the end of the appointed time of seclusion the taboo man is washed in running water, and partakes of a feast cooked by his guardian, and after the meal he may return home to his usual life. This belief of being able to detain a ghost is not in agreement with the general teaching concerning ghosts in this part of Africa; ghosts are usually thought to be free to do much as they like, and it is a common desire of the living to be rid of them as quickly as possible. Yet this custom relating to ghosts in Kavirondo is not an isolated instance, for in Busoga, at the funeral of a chief, it is the duty of the principal wife to catch two handfuls of the earth which is being cast into the grave, and to throw it over the nearest tree, saying: "If anyone has detained you, go free." The supposed captor is thought to be the man who by some actual deed or by magic has caused the death; and this action of throwing a ball of earth from the grave over the tree is supposed to be stronger than the strongest magic intended to detain a ghost from going to the place of the departed. Among Nilotic Kavirondo the chief purpose of the mourning duties of the wife

is to enable the ghost to go free and reach its home, with the satisfaction of believing that it is missed, and wanted by those whom it has left. When the mourning ends, and the widow is purified, she is free to seek remarriage; but before these ceremonies end, and the final purificatory ceremony has taken place, the widow still belongs to the ghost and has to act for its benefit in the hut in which the body lies, for she is considered to be still the wife of the deceased.

There are several Nilotic tribes to be found in a district extending some miles near the south-east coast of the Lake Victoria Nyanza; they seem to be immigrants who have worked their way through Bantu tribes, and have settled in their midst, though they keep free from intermarriage with them, and also retain their own language and customs. Physically they are quite as strong and robust as the Bantu people, but in their religious customs they take a lower place, though we may possibly find, when we know them better, that strong religious beliefs exist which at present we do not understand. Several of these Nilotic tribes in the past were fierce and warlike, and had to be reduced, before they would submit to British rule. Some of the troubles have arisen through our infringing their laws, injuring their feelings, and violating their superstitions owing to ignorance of their customs; we failed to respect certain rites, thus making enemies by persisting in a line of conduct which we should not have followed, had we understood their religious scruples. On this account it would be wise to give every European some training in the customs and beliefs of primitive people, before allowing him to go to their country; it would make him careful not to form hasty conclusions in matters on which they hold firmly-rooted opinions. Such knowledge would save the individual much trouble, and in some instances would also save the Government much money and loss of life, not to speak of the loss of the goodwill of the natives, when, for example, some resistance is made, and a punitive expedition has to be undertaken. When the railroad was first built, and the telegraph wires were laid, the people in certain localities were greatly incensed at

the presence of these wires, because they were sure that these innovations would cause trouble with their gods; and when there was a scarcity of food in Busoga owing to lack of rain, the people attributed it to the telegraph wires; so they cut and carried off long pieces of the wire, thinking thus to please their gods and secure the necessary rain for their crops. Other tribes dug up the rails of the railroad, because they felt sure that these things were the cause of drought and of sickness. In later times many of the dwellers on the islands of Lake Victoria have attributed sleeping sickness to the introduction of European methods into the country, and especially to Christianity. Because the gods have been neglected and are angry, they send sickness and death: so the old priests tell the people. To reason out clearly cause and effect in cases of disaster may be too difficult for the native, still he has reason for associating sleeping sickness with the European. There was no such sickness in the country until men coming from the Congo with Stanley, or following him, introduced it. Again, the removal of tribal barriers, and the safety with which one tribe can visit another has been the cause of introducing many new diseases and other ills utterly unknown in ages past. Smallpox was in the past attributed to armies invading other countries and bringing back some one afflicted with the disease. Now that people are able to make long journeys into other states without danger to life, such journeys are often undertaken, and the intercourse of tribes with one another has introduced new risks of infection. Another disadvantage of this free tribal intercourse among pastoral tribes has been the introduction of cattle diseases; tribal barriers used to prevent the passage of animals and goods from one tribe to another for trading purposes, and wild animals were never known in the past to have spread cattle disease over any wide area in Africa.

The warlike Nandi have almost disappeared from the confines of the railway; they proved to be so troublesome that they were eventually driven by a force of British troops from their old homes, and they are now restricted to a corner

of their former fair land. The far-famed Masai, the most dreaded warriors of olden times, have become so docile, that it is difficult to believe that they were ever a scourge in East Africa. Numbers of them may now be seen dressed in the uniform of British troops, shouldering modern rifles, and acting as police along the railway. Though much of the present peaceful condition of the Masai is due to British occupation, and to the tact shown by the District Commissioners, it is not entirely the work of our countrymen; the terrible cattle plague mentioned above carried off the large herds of the Masai, reducing them, not only to poverty, but almost to starvation, and they were forced to adopt a vegetable diet or to die. Many of this fine race died during those hard times, leaving to the most sturdy young members the task of building up their tribe to its former greatness. There can be little doubt that they would have recovered their old spirit of independence, had not the British arrived on the scene at the time of their extreme need and given them new motives in life, while they were still in a pliable condition, needing a helping hand to raise them from poverty. They have now been made to understand that they can no longer raid cattle or murder people as before, hence their warlike instincts find an outlet in acting as police and as soldiers for the Government. There are to be found places where herds of cattle are reared and tended by Masai as before; but how far the old rigid milk customs are observed I have had no opportunity of testing, and I must refer the reader to other works on the habits of the Masai. There are many miles of grass plains, where the Masai formerly roamed as lords with their large herds of cattle, which are now being turned to agricultural purposes by settlers. To these fertile regions numbers of Englishmen are being attracted, and they have begun to grow many kinds of crops well known in England; over and above these are the crops peculiar to tropical countries, particularly cotton, rubber, and cocoa, which are giving great promise. The long rolling plains with here and there lovely mountain scenery, which at one time were the

undisputed haunts of the Masai, who only shared their right to these magnificent lands with the wild beasts, are now being used for the benefit of the world.

Midway between the coast and Lake Victoria is the large town of Nairobi, which has sprung up with amazing rapidity. It is the headquarters of the Government of British East Africa, and the railway works are also established there. The first Government of the East African Protectorate was established on the island of Mombasa, and for some years the railway headquarters were on the coast. This was found to be unhealthy, while the highland in the interior was comparatively healthy, and gradually the whole machinery for working the Protectorate has been moved to the Nairobi plateau. This change affords space to the Government to build a town on an approved plan, as well as in a healthy locality. Moreover the town can be built on scientific principles for width of streets, drainage and supply of water, which was impossible in Mombasa, unless one did violence to the rights of native residents, whose forefathers for centuries had lived and died there. When I first knew Nairobi, only a few years ago (it was during the rainy season), the place seemed to be a marshy spot, with one hut, in which were stored the parts of the first steamer destined for Lake Victoria. Owing to the breakdown of transport, the parts were housed and guarded there, and were awaiting a fresh supply of porters from the coast. Now there are hundreds of houses of all kinds of structure and material, from the well built stone houses of the Governor and the chief members of the Government to the small grass hut of the native; there are also water-works, and large works for carriage and locomotive building, and for repairing the rolling stock of the railway. Roads have been constructed, and places of amusement built in addition to those for business and instruction. It is the great centre of East Africa, and there are stores and shops supplying all manner of goods, to satisfy the needs of hundreds of people and of the many farmers in the vicinity. It is the high table-land of East Africa, where

Europeans may live in comparatively good health, if they are careful to follow the ordinary rules of life in the tropics. Land has been purchased by numbers of Englishmen, who hope to be able to settle there for life, without ever returning to England. In the neighbourhood there is land suited for almost all kinds of farm produce that will grow in tropical and semi-tropical countries; and fruit and plants which require a temperate climate seem also to thrive. Cotton plantations are being cultivated with considerable success, and cattle farming is being given a fair trial, indeed almost all kinds of farming are being tested.

This high table-land is indeed a land of promise, but it needs the right men to make it a success and a place upon which the British nation can look with pleasure and pride. Whether the country will ever be suited for Europeans as a permanent home, where they can live without returning to Europe for periodical change on account of health, still remains to be proved. Most Europeans who have lived in the tropics for long find that they need change to a cold climate every few years to brace them up and restore their shattered nerves, and the benefits of the English winter enable them to return to their duties with the zeal necessary for success. For settlers the highlands near Nairobi are undoubtedly the most suitable country in East Africa, having cool nights, and days which, though hot, yet in the shade do not exceed the heat of an English summer day. Time alone will prove whether the settlers will find the place suitable for continued residence, where their children can live and thrive. Before the question can be settled, many hardships will have to be endured, many risks run, and probably lives laid down. The lonely life which many of these farmers are compelled to lead makes it necessary to find men who are prepared to live without social intercourse with their fellow men for long periods at a time. They need to be men of some character, who, when they go into towns, are able to withstand the temptations of evil associates, for men are to be found there, who have yielded to the excessive use of

alcohol and to gambling; these men have thrown away their own chances of success, and now seek to drag others down to their own dreadful plane of life.

In Uganda there is every prospect of cotton growing becoming a remunerative occupation, while rubber, coffee, cocoa, and grain will be found to be profitable, though there may not be the same facilities for exporting these crops. The land will grow the crops mentioned, but whether they can be grown and carried to the markets at a cost which will enable the growers to compete with other districts nearer to railroads and to the coast is still a question which time and fair trials will settle. Tea has not been given sufficient trial to permit a sound and reliable opinion being formed. The chief agriculturists in Uganda are the natives themselves, who sell their farm produce to European middlemen in the raw state; it has then to be prepared for market; cotton is ginned, pressed, and bound in bales for exportation. Though the native will sell his raw cotton for a comparatively small amount, the export merchant has to consider the long railway journey to the port for exportation, which his neighbour near the coast escapes.

The district stretching from Nairobi away to Mount Kenia is thickly populated by the Kikuyu tribe, who in many respects seem to resemble the Masai, though they differ from them in almost every detail when more closely studied. Still, to the casual observer there is a similarity; they are tall, well-built men, attired much after the style of the Masai, with small capes round their shoulders and a heart-shaped piece of skin hung behind them from the waist, which forms a seat when they wish to sit down. They use copious supplies of vegetable oil and the fat of domestic animals to rub upon their bodies, they paint themselves with red and white clay in peculiar figures which appear to be tribal designs, and they also carry long-bladed spears as do the Masai. A passing acquaintance did not enable me to discover their points of difference, and the only books written about them have not dealt with these subjects. Though the tribe possesses large

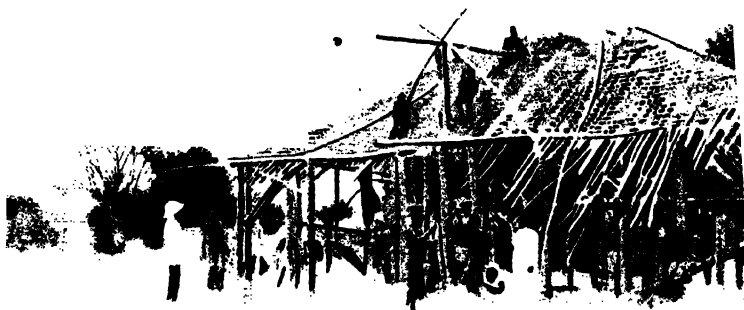
herds of cattle and goats and flocks of sheep, they are a semi-agricultural tribe of the Bantu stock, whereas the Masai are not Bantu, and are pastoral. The Wakikuyu are a settled people, not nomads, as is the case with the Masai; agricultural pursuits preclude a wandering life. The people build in communities, often on the summits of hills or on higher ground, enclosing a number of houses in a strong stockade, intended to be a protection against theft and night raids, which used to be commonly made by the Masai for the purpose of stealing the cattle. Among the Wakikuyu there are to be found men with primitive ideas of working iron and also wood; they are quite capable of fulfilling all the requirements of their tribe, and are able to supply the people with the necessary implements for domestic purposes and also with weapons of war. The material used for dress consisted only of the skins of domestic animals, with a few from wild animals taken in the chase; these they roughly dressed by oiling them well and working them soft and pliable. When cotton goods came to them from the coast, together with Western ideas, the old dress of skins began to fall into disuse, and so have many of their former customs.

As we pass along the line to the coast, we next encounter the Wakamba, who are not unlike the Wakikuyu in many respects. They also belong to the Bantu family; their dress is as scanty as that of the Wakikuyu; and their love of smearing oils and fat upon themselves from head to foot and rubbing on coloured clay is quite as great. For many years I have known these people to be a tribe of successful hunters. In following the chase, in addition to their skilful use of the spear, they use a strong bow, and the best manufactured arrows in this part of Africa are to be found among them. They are experts in bringing down game with their poisoned arrows, and in time of war these weapons render them formidable foes. Most of the large villages are built among the hills, usually on the hill-tops, to make them more difficult for the Masai to reach, when they are raiding cattle, than they would be if on the plains. Fertile valleys are chosen



for the cultivation of maize, millet, and the sweet potato, because these people are agricultural, though possessed of numbers of cattle. The villagers, men and women, descend to their fields every morning, and work steadily until the sun tells them it is noon, when they return home carrying food, fire-wood, and often a water-pot. The cattle, goats, and sheep are herded on the hill-sides, where they are less liable to be captured by their enemies than they would be in the valleys, where the paths and roads run from one part of the country to another.

The country from Lake Victoria to the Mau escarpment is of an undulating character with here and there some fine hills. During the months of dry weather the grass becomes dry, and most of the trees become leafless, except in the regions of water, where the grass and trees are evergreen. The engineering difficulties in building the railway from the coast to Lake Victoria were great, especially in the Mau district, where the land seems to rise like a huge wall from the plain. To obtain the necessary gradient in ascending the escarpment, the railway takes a spiral course of the most interesting character, and the traveller looks down upon tracts of land which he has passed through, sometimes with a feeling of incredulity, as he sees fresh objects of interest which he failed to notice when near them. In descending the escarpment the scenery is even more picturesque than in ascending, with wooded hills and ravines with cascades of water, which dash down deep gorges containing the most beautiful tropical vegetation and ferns of all kinds. When the railway was being constructed, before the line which now wends its way down the hills to the plain on the side nearer to the Victoria Lake was open for passenger traffic, we had to climb the escarpment on foot, while our goods were sent up in a lift. On one occasion my goods were detained owing to a rain-storm, and the train left me behind; for I preferred to remain with my baggage than to go on without it. I was informed that there would be no other passenger train to Nairobi for some days, but I obtained permission to travel by goods-train in a covered iron truck.



HOUSE CONSTRUCTION IN UGANDA

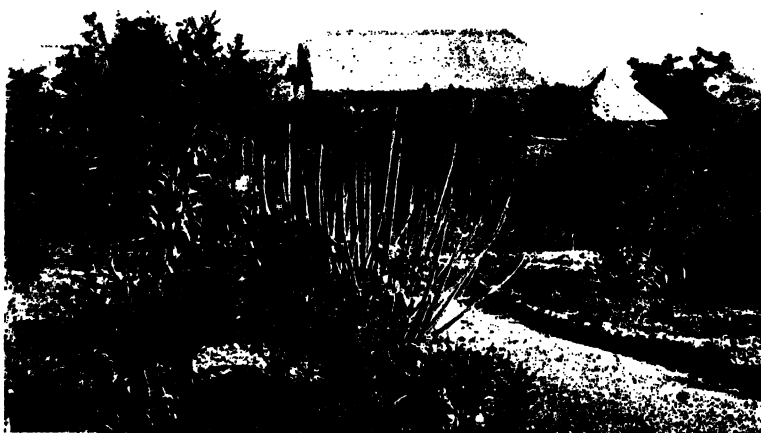


DUG-OUT CANOE IN PROCESS OF BEING BUILT

PLATE XIX



ANKOLE PASTORAL HUTS



EUROPEAN'S HOUSE AND GARDEN

I lived in this with my boys, dividing the truck into three rooms, by hanging tent and tent awning across, and using one part as a bedroom and the middle part as a sittingroom, while the boys used the third part as a kitchen and their sleeping room. With the doors open on one side, and a deck-chair placed near the opening, I had a novel experience, and on the whole it was a comfortable run to Nairobi, lasting two days and one night. When we arrived at Nairobi, we had to wait three or four days for a train to the coast, but through the kindness of the traffic manager I was allowed the use of a guard's van for a house, instead of having to pitch my tent, and my boys cooked my meals near by at the side of the railway.

When the train leaves Nairobi, it crosses the Athi plain which is full of game; this is indeed one of the greatest shows of wild animals which the world can produce. There are zebras, and many kinds of antelopes, with here and there a lion, wild boars, ostriches, and other kinds of animals peculiar to Africa, which have now become so accustomed to the railway trains, that they do little more than trot to a safe distance, or merely raise their heads to look, and then go on grazing, while the trains run past. Herds of these animals may be seen from the railway carriage, which must often number a hundred.

Now that the railway is finished, it is possible for trains to run by night, whereas at first they only ran by day, when the driver could see that the line had not been washed away by a sudden rain-storm and subsequent flood. The comfort of the railway is great, when compared with the former laborious and slow method of walking; there are places we pass with some well remembered land-mark, where in those old days of journeying on foot we camped, or again where some difficulty had to be overcome with porters, or where there was lack of food or scarcity of water. These are things of the past, now the traveller sits in luxury, and the train stops at regular places, where he alights for a meal prepared for him; by night he sleeps in comfort, free from

worry; danger from some night attack of robbers or wild beasts is unknown, the only inconvenience being a coating of dust, which has penetrated into his carriage and covered his bedding during his sleep.

The advent of the railway in Mombasa has made great changes. The small island has passed through a variety of experiences since the early days of the Portuguese. At one time it was the home of the pioneer missionaries Krapf and Rebmann; the former arrived in a dhow in 1844 and established himself in the Arab town, and later was joined by Rebmann, who went to the mainland and settled at Rabai. By these two men the snow-capped mountain Kilimanjaro was discovered, and they also gave to the world the first intimation of the great inland seas, which led to the discovery of Lake Victoria. A small cemetery containing the graves of the wives of these pioneers on the mainland at Frere Town is the silent memorial of their labours. Many people come and go to Mombasa without ever hearing of the quiet resting-place of these brave women, or of the labours of the men who endured so much, and rendered such invaluable help in the opening up of Africa to civilisation. The cemetery is off the track trodden by visitors, and known only to a few residents in Mombasa.

For a time after these men had left, the island was without any resident European; then came the influx of Europeans for the purpose of building the railway, and both Government officers and railway officials lived here for a time. The houses of these officers were built at some distance from the dirty native town, on the highest part of the island, in order to obtain the most healthy conditions of Mombasa; roads were also cut and gardens laid out. When, however, the railway opened up the highlands of Nairobi with its wonderful climate, the Government and railway officials moved there; and gradually Mombasa has been deprived of the greater part of its European population, and retains those only whose business is connected with shipping and so forbids their prolonged absence from the coast, and the missionaries

who, with the Bishop of Eastern Africa, have their headquarters on the island. The place is vastly improved, and it has been of much more importance since it became the terminus of the railway, and its new harbour on the south side of the island, with a good entrance, and deep water sufficient for ships of the deepest draught to enter or leave at any time regardless of the state of the tide, was opened. Formerly ships arriving at ebb-tide had to anchor, or cruise about until there was sufficient water for them to get over the reef which runs across the entrance of the old harbour; this reef made the port dangerous and difficult for navigation. The railway now runs down to a sea-wall, to which ships can come, and this circumstance saves time and expense in loading and discharging cargoes from large ships. The old town continues much as it was, with its Arab craft lying at anchor before it; but few Europeans pass through the narrow, dirty, smelly streets, now that the hotels and port lie away from it. Arabs, Swahili, and various mixed people from India continue to inhabit this town, living happily in Eastern squalor.

The Bishop of East Africa lives on the island in a nice stone house, near the Hannington-Parker Memorial Church which is now the Cathedral; there are also some good schools worked by the missionaries belonging to the Church Missionary Society. The old freed-slave quarters at Frere Town, called after Sir B. Frere, who did so much for the suppression of slavery in East Africa, have dwindled almost to nothing. The mission for the freed slaves was on the mainland opposite Mombasa, but, as was to be expected, their children have grown up, and the slave trade has died down, so that there are now no more slave children to be taught in the old school there. In the past much good was done in the place, and there are some godly men and women still living in Frere Town, who passed through the schools as freed slave children. A link with the past is to be found in Archdeacon Binns, who is still at work in Mombasa and Frere Town, after some forty years' residence, with a noble record of faithful service. Of

the released slaves who belong to the early days, the Rev. I. Semler still lives; he was ordained by Bishop Hannington, before the latter undertook his fatal journey into the interior. Thus we leave the bright sunny shores of Africa, with the interests and difficulties of the country opening a new page of its history; no longer the almost unknown land, but a land attracting with its irresistible charms and claims the eyes of many nations, and now known to almost every school child. It is indeed a veritable land of promise, a land of adventure, and a land which will throw much light on many of the still unsolved scientific problems of life.

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